

/Additional information on prayer sticks, frequently referred to as "moustache-lifters," may be found in category 413./

vision nearly thirty Hokkaidō ponies, a fishing boat or two, and a goodly supply of fishing nets. A more cheery and lovable person I have never met anywhere. He was one of "Nature's gentlemen," and was the recognized champion controversialist and most successful advocate for miles around his village. His services were much sought after and his fame had spread abroad to districts far away. I was by his side two days before his death, and we then had some very interesting and confidential conversation together. He actually went so far as to ask me to keep an eye on his family and see that no harm came to any of them after his decease.

Not far from Mr. Mo's house, and about midway between his village and the next, there is a stone still *in situ* which goes by the name of "Stone of Contention." This used to be the rendezvous where controversies were held and judicial cases settled. It was to this stone my friend used to go as advocate. Many times, I was told, did he go there and contend for the right. He was a wise and upright man and as honest as honest could be. He was indeed and in truth a bringer in of peace and harmony, sometimes pleading with the contending parties even with tears. This "Stone of Contention" was supposed to stand there as a witness to what was said and done. Fetishes were made and offered to it, libations presented and drunk before it, and it was a special object of veneration and worship on particular occasions, such as those now mentioned. Free speech also was allowed on these occasions.

● 573 A year or two before his death, Mr. Mo one day took me for a walk and showed me first of all a flat rock on the top of a hill, which was called the "Watch Stone." From it a good view was to be obtained, both inland and out at sea. He explained the name by telling me that the ancient Ainu, in their days, used to stand or sit on this stone, keeping watch against

MANNERS AND ETIQUETTE

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found that even there a somewhat similar custom was kept up by the Maoris. They, men and women too, cry outright and hug and kiss friends who are about to depart on a journey or have just returned from one, and this proceeding lasts for quite a long time on occasion. In India, also, among the Chauhans of the Central Provinces, the women weep on one another's necks when they meet after a long separation. And when they thus weep it is a point of etiquette that the elder should stop first and then beg her companion to do so. But if it is doubtful which is the elder, they sometimes go on for a very long time, exciting the young spectators to mirth, until at length some elder steps forward and tells them to stop.

Continuing his instruction, my chief said, "Never enter a house with your shoes on; be sure to take your hat off; never rush in or out of a house, but go quietly and gravely; never look into a house through a window; treat the east-end window as very sacred; never throw anything out of any window; never throw anything into the fire; do not touch another person's fire; do not go eavesdropping; never address a stranger unless he first speaks to you; if it is necessary to address a stranger, first say, 'Your Honour'; when you meet another person step off the path and let him have the right of way; let a woman always, when she meets a man, take off her head-dress, cover her mouth with her hand, step to one side and look upon the ground; let her even turn sidewise; never strike a burning log upon the hearth; never turn the point of any edged tool toward the fire; never by any means allow human hair or nail parings to fall upon the hearth," and so forth. Such were old Penri's rules of etiquette and I think I never lost anything by being careful to conform to them as much as possible.

One day an interesting thing happened while I was in Penri's house. A Japanese traveller came in to have an argument with me on Christianity, for he did

117 not like a foreigner bringing in a new religion to his country. We talked for quite a long time and at last he got so worked up as to lose his temper. In order to clinch his side of the matter with more emphasis, he wound up by seizing a fire-brand and giving the fire itself a big blow with it, and then stalked out. That was the very worst thing he could have done for himself and his cause, but the best thing possible for me and mine. The Ainu who were present were astonished beyond measure at this great breach of etiquette. The fireplace is the very seat of the goddess of fire, the great ancestress of the Ainu race. It was a fearful insult to her and to all of them. With that blow both the man and his arguments lost all respect.

[354
778
372] 574 I found the Ainu a very hospitable people, but
576 sometimes guests would outstay their welcome. What, then, could be done to get them to leave? In such a case Penri told me that his people made a kind of feast which was named "The feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for." By making this feast and calling in a few friends to share it with the guest, a big hint was given him that his absence would be more valued than his presence. When the feast was over the friends would all bid him "good bye!" If he did not take the hint and continued to stay on, the hostess would go with her husband and lodge with a neighbour till he walked off. I have seen this done once only. I thought it was a splendid idea and in the case I have in mind it was not considered as a breach of etiquette, nor did it destroy friendship. It was a well understood proceeding.

48 you kill such little chickens as that for food?" "Oh, no, Sir," said he. "It died yesterday!"

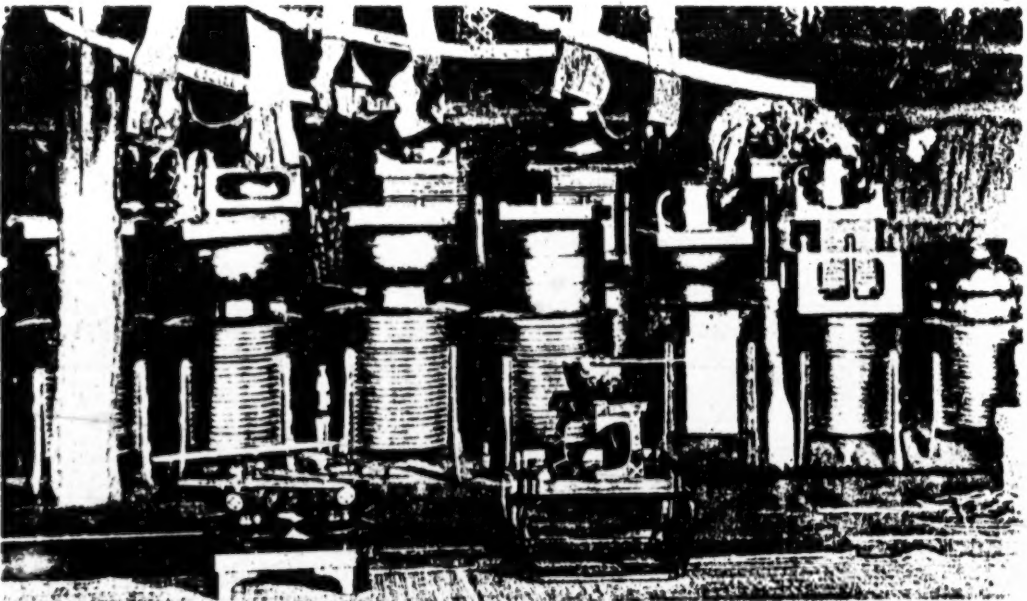
000 The foregoing little incident reminds me of another one of a somewhat similar nature. I had not been long in Hakodate before I set up housekeeping. My cook, housekeeper and general factotum was a Japanese man aged forty. Although a very good fellow, I found out later that he was very busy "feathering his own nest." One day he came to me and said, "I think, sir, it would be well if you were to have chicken today for dinner." "But why, cook?" I asked. "Oh," he replied, "one of the hens is quite sick and cannot live many hours longer. I think it would be best to kill it at once before it is too late. It will make you a fine dinner, Sir." "No, thank you, cook; you may have it." And he really did kill and carry it home, where he cooked it and he and his family ate it up. Well, he is dead now, and I can only say, "Peace be to his ashes!"

136 I know of one district by the sea where the people
262 are very fond of turtle soup. Sometimes when the fishermen go far out to sea to fish, they bring back a turtle or two which they catch on the surface of the water. These they kill and feast on. I am told that the stews they make of them are fine eating. That may be so, but having seen and smelt the mixture once, I could never thereafter bring myself to taste it. Three years ago one of these creatures found its way ashore at Usu. The people soon caught it. It was quite a big one and they were delighted with their capture. But, instead of killing it, the Japanese and Ainu combined in giving it a large quantity of *sake* to drink and then sending it adrift again. The
[825] Ainu worshipped it and offered it fetish shavings
• [778] before parting with it. Such a procedure is said to bring great good fortune.

137 Hokkaidō abounds in fruit of kinds. There are
262 raspberries of several varieties which are very good

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 778



THE SACRED EAST-END CORNER OF A HUT

[P. 166(A)]

CHAPTER XXII

HUT BUILDING AND DEDICATION

"When the first hut came down from Heaven," so³⁴² runs the tradition, "it descended with the Goddess of⁷⁷⁸ Fire and was called 'The room in which the Divine Nourisher is placed,' 'The room sent down,' and 'The room God made.'" And I will here add that the word I have translated by "room" also means "womb," and to the folk-lore of this will perhaps be significant. The foregoing is not a long tradition, indeed, but is very much to the point, and is quite unexpected.

The native hut is certainly not much to look at from the outside, built as it is simply with a few posts, beams, poles and reeds, nor could I ever discover anything very heavenly about it from the inside. Regarded from an Ainu point of view, however, it is a very sacred thing indeed, for it is looked upon by them as an actual living creature having a conscious, personal identity. While being set up, every part of it has the sacred willow fetish shavings placed upon it or suspended [777] from it. They are put in every joint, about the beams, on the top of the uprights, along the rafters and by the windows and doors. No part is forgotten. These things are called the "heart" or "pulse" of the house. It is believed that when the building ceases to exist in this world, it goes back to Heaven for the use of the former inhabitants, ready for them when they arrive there. Thus the material itself is looked upon as the shadow only, while the living spirit is the real substance.

HUT BUILDING AND DEDICATION

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another should be made in its place and children born 342
and brought up in it.' So now, O God, this room is 788
finished and the heart has been given it. Do Thou and 782
the Goddess of Fire keep the people in good health.
We offer These fetishes. Pray see that those who shall
dwell in this house do not become ill."

After the walls have been covered in and the roof 342
quite thatched, many fetishes are made, the furniture 778
brought in, and the chief household god set up in his
corner in the sacred place which is his.

When building their homes in olden days the men 342
were very careful to drive in two good-sized stakes at
the head of the hearth, one in the right-hand and the
other in the left-hand corner. They were set there in
a very reverential manner, with many prayers and
much ceremony. Like almost everything else, they
were called "gods" and treated with awe. They were
even worshipped and had libations offered them on oc-
casion. No house was considered safe to dwell in with-
out these objects, and they were supposed to bring
good or ill fortune as befitted the case.

I once quite unwittingly gave great offence to a 576
chief I was visiting on a very cold day, by resting my
heels on one of his little posts and turning the soles
of my feet towards the blazing fire, to warm them.
Fortunately, my good friend chief Penri was sitting by
my side and explained to me the heinous crime of
impiety I was thereby committing. I took them off
directly and apologized for the act. Clouds at once
passed away and peace was restored so that we got
along in perfect concord.

The proper full name of these two stakes is 342
Imumbe-se-uskabe, which means, "Objects set at the head
of the hearth." Those I saw in chief Penri's house
were very good specimens. The old man told me that
they were about three feet long and had been driven
into the hearth corners with a wooden mallet. So deep-
ly had they been driven in that only about six inches

HUT BUILDING AND DEDICATION

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roof to dry. But these holes are very useful in other ways. When fights take place inside between demons and men or between gods and demons, the spirits of the slain ascend alive through them to heaven. And when the deceased ancestors of the people come to their children to accompany them to battle, they enter here and then all go off together to wage the war, and many fights take place in the air. There are many allusions to this in Ainu folklore. 342
[776]

The western part of any place is always regarded as the lowest in esteem. This region, being the place where the sun sets, is looked upon as the abode of darkness and evil. Many fetishes are set up to the demons of evil and sickness at this end of the huts, both inside and out. The door leading from this quarter goes into an ante-chamber. In the south wall of this there is another door which leads into the open air. In the ante-chamber are stored fire-wood, garden tools and so forth. The dogs also, and these are the only native domestic animals the Yezo Ainu kept, are allowed to occupy this place. That part of the house extending from the top of the east-end window is held in special honour. The right-hand corner is the place where all the treasures are kept, also a great number of family charms and fetishes. Upon the beams over these, heirlooms, old swords, bows and arrows, spears and fishing implements, properly decorated with shavings from willow wood, are stowed away. In long boxes next to these are preserved the special ornaments and clothing. Many old sword scabbards and other things may be seen decorating the wall here. [823]
342
778

Respecting the east-end window the following folklore was told me:

"The east-end window is a very blessed thing and of great importance always. When the highest gods are worshipped or when prayers are said to the ancestors, they should often be addressed through this window. Also, when fetishes are placed among the big

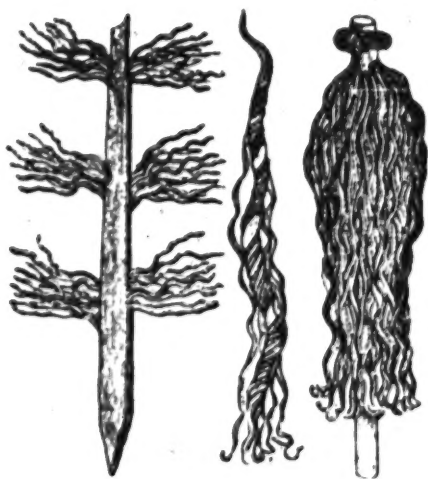
342
773 cluster outside toward the sunrise, they should be made and consecrated by the fireside and then passed through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed or any precious gift brought to the house, it ought always to be taken in through the east-end window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by such names as "Window through which fetishes pass"; "Window through which sacred things pass." For these reasons the east-end window is to be very highly esteemed and nothing should be heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any person look into a house through it."

[576]
342 When the hut is finished, the warming festival takes place in good earnest, and there are beforehand many smiles of pleasurable anticipation. The men and women quickly become very busy indeed, the women outside pounding millet for the dumplings, and the men attending to the religious part. It is very interesting to see the men making their fetishes. Some are told off to make small ones to hang up inside and outside the hut; some make theirs for the fireside, others for the sleeping places, treasure corner, doorways, windows, gardens, springs, rivers and outhouses. And all of them are devoutly worshipped and libations offered and drunk to them. When worshipping them, [264] each man dips his moustache-lifter into the *saké* he holds in his hand ready, and takes out three drops, which he allows to fall before the object being prayed to. Even the pots, pans, kettles, water tubs and the other furniture and utensils are all treated in the same way. Nothing is left out. In the meantime the women and girls have pounded their dough for the dumplings, made it into cakes, and placed it in the pots hanging over the fires upon the hearth.

342
273 Very soon the noise begins. All talk at once and drink deeply. Even the women take *saké* then, and sometimes give a little to their children. Some of the men are very fond of neat alcohol, and this is so

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927.

AB6 Ainu AB6



778●

SOME COMMON FETISHES

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TWO HOUSEHOLD GODS

The fire as it exists upon the hearth and in volcanoes also has often been spoken of in these chapters as being a Goddess who is frequently worshipped. She is indeed a very important deity and figures much in Ainu thought and religion. She is called *Huchi* or *Fuji*, which means "Old Woman" and "Grandmother." I believe it to be the same *Fuji* as in Fuji no Yama, the peerless and sacred mountain of Japan, and this is therefore an old Ainu name. Fuji no Yama is a dormant volcano, and volcanoes are everywhere worshipped under the name *Fuji Kamui* (i.e. Divine Grandmother) by this people. It is my purpose in this chapter briefly to take this Goddess of Fire in hand and show what her special functions are supposed to be. Before doing so, however, I think it would be well to speak of *Fuji's* husband. 776
[372]

Fuji is a married lady and her man is of great importance, as every husband ought surely to be. As to the origin of ordinary fire, that is to say, of fire as used in common daily life out of doors and in, the Ainu have no theory excepting that the very first fire came down from Heaven as lightning. Their forefathers, we are told, produced it for themselves when necessary from sticks and drills of dry elm roots and tinder, and later by means of the flint and steel which they got with other things from their Japanese neighbours. *Fuji's* husband is called the Ancestral Governor of the House.

Any visitor to the Ainu is sure to find set up behind the lacquer-ware tubs and heirlooms in the north- [778] ●

776 eastern corner of such huts as he may be pleased to
 778 enter, a big fetish made with clustered willow shavings
 depending from the top of a thick stem. This is called
 by several names, as, for example, "Ancestral Gov-
 ernor of the House," "Household Fetish," and "Divine
 Householder." Like all other fetishes, this instrument
 is invested with mighty magic powers.

This fetish is of the male gender and is the most
 important one the men make. He is sometimes called
 the Divine Husband of the Fire upon the Hearth. On
 entering an Ainu hut, one hardly realizes that he is
 believed to be in the presence of two such mighty gods.
 But there is something very uncanny about this fetish
 [34] and the many skulls of animals one may sometimes see
 about it. I have often slept with my head in that
 sacred east corner, and the smell from the skulls kept
 there has sometimes been very strong and not at all
 fresh and nice. This fetish and his wife—the Fire—
 together are supposed to look after the welfare of the
 family and rule over them. These things are surely
 national totemistic signs, inasmuch as they connect
 the whole race in the bonds of one living clan or family.
 776 The people are the children of one ancestral father and
 769 mother. They are both—fire and the fetish—wor-
 shipped, which worship was no doubt in the beginning
 an *In Memoriam* service, and had, without doubt, for its
 moving principle reverence for their forefathers. It is
 pertinent to remark here that just as *Etushi* means
 "old man," so *Hachi* or *Fuji* means "old woman," and in
 some things they remind one of the Lares and Penates
 of old Rome, for with them the lar was conceived of not
 only as the house spirit but as the spirit of a deceased
 ancestor, and so we probably have here ancestor-wor-
 ship amalgamated with the worship of a tutelary or
 guardian spirit. And in the fetish itself we have in
 the willow shavings a reference to the Ainu racial
 "birth-tree," which is the willow itself.

THE TWO HOUSEHOLD GODS

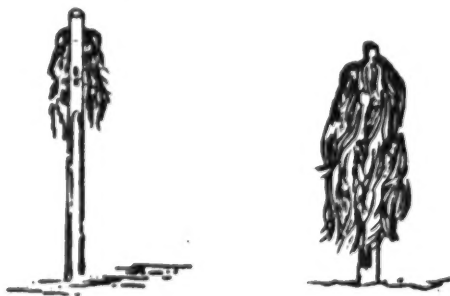
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When I questioned Chief Penri on this matter, he 776
informed me that the pattern of the original household [342]
fetish was sent down from heaven by the Creator Him-
self; not by Aocina, but by the True God. The follow-
ing is the story he gave me, as reported to him by his
father before him. It is short but to the point, and 778
runs thus: "The deity who rules the household was 776
first made by the True God, Who, after He had made
him, sent him down from heaven to be the husband
of the Goddess of Fire and to help her to attend to the
wants of the Ainu. He is therefore called The Ancestral
Governor of the House." Other men besides Penri
have told me the same thing. This fetish is sometimes
brought out from his corner and set up by the hearth,
where he is worshipped together with his wife—the
Fire. It is interesting to note how this fetish is made.

One day when all the family were away from home, 778
the eldest son of a certain chief with whom I was well
acquainted, took his father's household fetish out of
the corner at my request, and brought it to me for
examination. I asked him to explain how it was made.
This is what he said: "A piece of wood about an inch
thick is taken from a green lilac tree. This tree is
chosen because it is a kind of wood which lasts a long
time and does not easily rot when kept in the dry. This
stick is to form the stem of the fetish and is called
the *setoba*, i.e. body. It should be two feet or two
feet and a half long. The lower end is sharpened
so that it can be stuck in the ground. One part of it is
shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom, and
this represents the front. Near the top a gash is cut
right across it in imitation of a mouth, and a little
lower down the *sambe*, i.e. heart, is carefully tied in.
This heart consists of a red hot coal freshly taken from
the hearth. It is firmly fixed to the "body" with a
wisp of twisted willow shavings. After it has been
well bound in, a number of long shavings taken from a
fine willow tree are tied all round it so as to completely

- 778 hide the "body," notches having been cut in the stick so as to keep them from slipping down. After this has been respectfully done, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside and the following dedicatory prayer is said to it:—

[788] "O Divine Fetish, you are henceforth to live in this house with the Goddess of Fire. You are to be her husband and your abiding place will be in the sacred treasure corner. Help Thou her to watch over us, we beseech Thee, and do Thou bless us.' After this prayer has been said, some saké drunk and some libations offered, this fetish is named 'Divine Ancestral House Governor.' Such were the words of my in-



THE HOUSEHOLD FETISHES

formant. It is now installed and forthwith begins to take charge of the house with its consort. Then many other kinds of fetishes are made and offered to both of them with much prayer and festivity.

342
778 The household has thus become a unit and complete in itself. In so far as social intercourse is concerned, the family is independent and works for itself, but still within the community. The household has, as it were, reached its adult age. The Goddess of Fire has her seat right in the middle of the hottest part of the hearth and from here she performs her appointed service. It

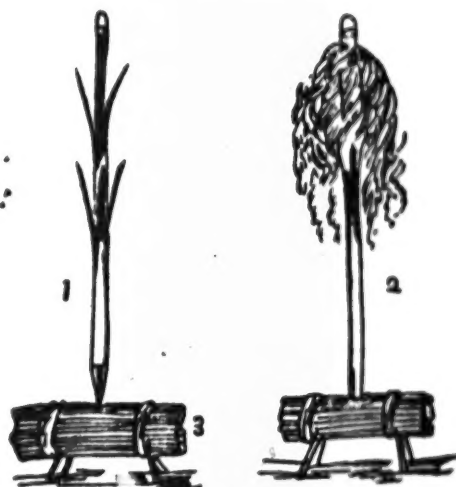
CHAPTER XXIV

THE BIRTH TREE AND CUSTOMS AT CHILDBIRTH

Among this people the willow tree is of great importance, for, as has already been pointed out, the backbone of original man is said to have been formed out of it. The life of man is supposed to have its seat in it rather than in the blood, as many other races believe. One is not surprised, therefore, to find that this tree is much used in making certain kinds of fetishes and regarded as a sort of individual "birth tree." Among the Aryan peoples, Roman and Teuton, it was believed that a person's fate and life were mystically involved with that of his "birth tree," i.e. a tree planted at his birth; and that his life depended on and terminated with that of the tree, the man growing or withering as his tree grew or withered. Something of the same idea is involved in a certain willow fetish which is made for an Ainu child when born. [344]

As soon as a child has come into the world, the father, or, as a rule, the grandfather, will go to the bank of a river, where he will seat himself upon the ground and pray to his gods. That done, he will cut a nice green stick of willow about a foot in length. This he will reverently bring home and, sitting down by the hearth, whittle into a fetish. When finished, he will worship it devoutly, offer prayers to the Goddess of Fire, and then, carefully taking it in both hands, carry it to the sleeping place and set it up there as the tutelary god of the new baby. 844 852

● 778



THE WILLOW TOTEM

1. is the stem itself.
2. is the stem with the shavings tied round it.
3. is the pillow in which it is set.

852 After this has been set up, a prayer is said, which
782 indubitably shows that this birth fetish is looked upon
as the angel of the child's growth.

"As the backbone of man was originally made of willow wood, the men should hasten to make fetishes of this tree as soon as a child has been born. After it has been properly piled they should address it thus:

'As thou, fetish, art a god, we worship before thee. When God formed man in the beginning He made his spine out of willow wood. We therefore call upon thee, O willow fetish, to watch over this child while he is growing up. Guard him and give him strength, together with a long life.'

"After this prayer has been said, the fetish should be reverently stuck in its pillow seat and placed by the bedside. When the child has grown up, he should frequently procure saké or millet beer and worship this, his guardian god."

THE BIRTH TREE AND CHILD-BIRTH

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Such is the folklore given me on this matter by my friend, and from it we conclude that the willow is the special individual tree totem of every Ainu born in Hokkaidô. As might well be expected, this fetish is particularly worshipped in times of sickness, by the individual for whom it was made. The following is a prayer taught to children for their use on such an occasion:

"O thou willow god, as thou art my spine—my very backbone—do thou hasten to heal me and make me strong. O thou dear deity, I am ill, and my body has become weak; pray help me soon." [782]

If this little prayer be said often and devoutly, it is supposed that the sufferer will soon recover from his malady. The auto-suggestion which is so necessary for a healing is thereby produced, and that is more than half the battle.

So, too, when an older person falls sick, the elders meet together and make fetishes of this tree for him. After these have been duly worshipped, they are taken out of doors and carried to the sacred place at the east end of the house and there set up among what are called the *masa*. These *masa* form a big cluster of fetishes, old and new. Some are but a few inches high and others six feet or even more in length. The length is got by tying them to poles which are called "lega." Among them may be seen the skulls of animals killed in hunting or for sacrifice. In Saghalien I once saw one or two round hoops set up on high among them, and was told that these represented offerings to the sun. 755

The magical influence of these things is supposed to be very great. It always struck me as being a very weird and mysterious custom to stick such things up and to consider them, both fetishes and place, as sacred. If, after being set up, any of the sticks strike root and grow, it is supposed to be a good sign. It shows that the person on whose behalf they were made 778 824 755

- 778 will recover from sickness, become strong and have a
 755 long life; and the more they flourish the happier the people are. The pleasure is indescribable if a fetish made for a baby happens to grow, for that means extraordinary good health, great strength and a long and prosperous life, or else that the child will become a mighty leader of the people or a wonderful hunter. One young fellow told me in later life that when young he used to keep his willow tree well watered so as to be always green, and that he himself might be ever in good health. He thoroughly believed in the efficacy of his "birth tree." But, I am sorry to say, he died at the age of about thirty. He was a good man and a great help to me in collecting folk-lore. Indeed, without him and Chief Penri and one or two others, I do not think these chapters could ever have been written. I have been very fortunate in my Ainu friends.

[115] 778 The fetish clusters spoken of above are only named ~~was~~ when taken as a whole; when spoken of singly, the wands are named ~~was~~. They are particularly striking when seen new in the winter or early spring, for then they glisten brightly in the sunshine over the snow. Some of them are shaved upward toward the top and others downward toward the base, while some again are not pilled at all. It all depends upon why they are set up and to what god or demon they are presented.

226 But it must not be supposed that the ~~was~~ are set up only near the houses in which the people live. A traveller may often see them upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up to the gods of the sea and as offerings to various kinds of fish and marine animals.

177 778 The young man who gave me much of the fetish
 778 lore I possess, and whom I mentioned as having watered his birth tree, was a most god-fearing fellow. He told me that he had never heard of a man among his people who had no gods to whom he prayed. When he him-

THE BIRTH TREE AND CHILD-BIRTH

187

self became a Christian, he said that he gave up making fetishes, and this so astonished his people that they came and walked round his house outside to see what he had instead of the *nusa*, and went inside to see what gods he had in place of the *inu*. When they could find nothing, all they could say was that he was an *inu-sah-gwu*, i.e. "a man without fetishes," that he was an atheist and so had cut himself off from his people and their gods.



NUSA OR INAU CLUSTERS

One day a man came to our house in Sapporo and asked if I would kindly let him have a good look at my God! I was greatly astonished at this request, and told him that such a thing was an absolute impossibility, because my God is spirit and can not be seen with material eyes. "Oh, no, He isn't," he said, "for I have already seen Him, only I want to have a closer look at him." I could not make out what he was driving at, so I said, "Where have you seen Him? Show me." "Why, there," he replied, pointing just outside my study to the top of the stairs, "up there." I was much amused, for there on the landing I had set up a very old black suit of Japanese armour,—the ugliest thing I have ever come across. I took him up to look at it

117 and, after an examination, he nearly fell down with laughter. This man was the Mr. Tee, the great hunter, whose story is told in a later chapter.

776
688 It was a very serious thing for anyone to interfere with the Ainu fetishes or to go near the *masu*. One day a couple of young Japanese fellows came to stay in a village we were in, and the people did not wish them to be there, for they often got too near the fetishes and looked in at the house windows. That they got among our chickens and appropriated some of the eggs, we well knew, and I was just about to bring the fact to their notice and make them move on when, fortunately for me, they got themselves turned out. No doubt it was done thoughtlessly and with no evil intent, but they forcibly pulled up an *inu* fetish, examined it and then tore it to pieces. They were observed, and within a couple of hours there was such a noise made by the inhabitants that they thought it best to leave without saying "good bye." This was a flagrant case of desecration and could not be passed over. These young men were not vicious, but inconsiderate and stupid. No harm was intended, of that I am sure. Ah, well, let us hope they learned their lesson and profited thereby.

117 One morning as I was passing through a certain village with an Ainu, we heard that someone was ill in one of the huts, and it was suggested that we should go in and see the sufferer. On entering, we found that it was a woman suffering from hard labor. We did not stay long, but I was asked to offer up a word of prayer and touch her head with my hand. This I willingly did, to the great satisfaction of all, but especially of the lady herself. When we returned home toward evening, we were told that all had passed off well, and I thus gained a few more friends.

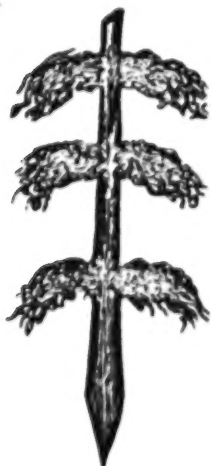
775 There used to be an idea current among the people that persons are sometimes reborn into this world, especially when the Great God of all has some parti-

THE BEAR FESTIVAL

211

shipped. The whole is called *Aw-mende-wi*, i.e. "tree for sending off the living creature." 527
231

"Then one 'spread out, and one 'twisted wand,' two in all, are set up over the cub's head. After this its own specially prepared viands—dumplings and fish—and a few cub arrows are presented to it to carry on its journey back to the mountains."



[778] ●

FETISHES MADE AT A BEAR FESTIVAL

So we find the idea of a death is emphatically denied. [761
775]
The animal is not killed, but his living spirit is sent away to its heaven in the mountains. There he once more enjoys the society of his parents and friends. After a time there he is supposed to be reincarnated and to return to this earth as another cub. Such was my native friend's very interesting written account of the *iyomande* or "sending away" festival. This national feast goes on till late in the night, when such as are able to do so return to their homes or go to stay with friends in the village. Much *sake* is, of course, consumed, and all get more or less intoxicated. The

888 Old Man. "Yea, indeed! That is just the point.
 301 Vines are divine beings. They are living gods. They
 • 778 are full of life and flexibility. Whether it be winter or
 824 summer, they are always lithe and pliable. This is
 the reason I wear parts of these datties in my ears.
 They are my preservers and helpers."

Self. "Indeed! How can this be? Where is the
 virtue? What kind of good can they do you? Do you
 think they have done or are doing you any good now?
 Do you feel any better for them?"

Old Man. "Oh, don't you know? Of course they
 help me. How can I doubt it? They are gods. They
 keep me going. By wearing them I get my portion of
 flexibility and am thus as lithe as you see me now.
 Having them in my ears, I feel and know that these
 divine properties are being imparted to me through
 them."

Poor old fellow! Sitting there in the silent forest
 on that log, listening to the recitation of his faith, I
 felt hushed. Such was his creed on this point, and he
 was acting upon it.

"But," returned I, "whatever makes you, my elder
 brother, think those vines are divine? I should like
 to learn from you. Please teach me." I then got the
 following old lore from him, and was edified:

539 "In the beginning grape and actinidia vines were
 in Heaven, in the Kingdom of the Gods. In that place
 only golden, silver and bronze trees grow. Now, when
 the Divine One came down from above to Ainu-land,
 he found that God had made many things to grow
 out of the earth, but he had quite forgotten to plant
 any actinidia and grape vines. So the Divine One re-
 turned to Heaven and brought down one silver and
 one golden actinidia, and also one bronze grape vine.
 The grape was taken from a vine clinging to a bronze
 tree and the silver actinidia from a vine twisted round
 a tree of silver. And thus it is that there are now

THE VINES OF HEAVEN

245

actinidia and grape vines in Ainu-land. But there are ⁵³⁹
no metal vines. All are of nice, lithe, living wood.
By this my younger brother will see that there is great
good to be got from wearing ear-rings of such vines."

"Ah," I replied, "I see what you mean. Have you
any more old lore concerning the vine? Did your fore-
fathers hand down anything besides what you have
now told me about these vines? What did your grand-
parents say about them?"

"Yes, just so," replied he. "The Ancient Ones told ⁷⁷⁸
us that we must be particular to make fetishes out of ⁷⁵⁵
grape-vine stems when people become ill. These feti-
shes must be made with great reverence, and when
formed set up by the fireside and worshipped. The
prayer then said should be as follows:

"O divine Grape-Vine fetishes, we call upon You ⁷⁸²
now because this person is ill—sick nigh unto death.
O Ye Grape-Vines, Ye had your origin in Heaven above
and Ye did come down from the celestial regions in
the beginning. Therefore we call upon You, for when
a person is sick it is Your duty, O Ye Honored Ones,
to succour him and make him well. In Heaven the soil
is of metal and everything growing out of it, whether
it be tree or grass, has spirit and life. When made
into a medicine and taken, we have been taught that
it is Your duty to give strength to those who become
sick.' Thus prayed to, the man does worship by way
of obeisance in humble attitude. After this some of
the grape vine is taken and chopped up very fine.
This is heated and then seethed well in hot water, and
when cool enough given to the patient to swallow. The
actinidia vine is taken in the same way." The poor
old fellow told me all this with great reverence and I
could see that he believed in it thoroughly and felt
better for his clumsy vine ear-rings.

"But," I asked, "do you mean to say that in drink- ⁷⁵⁵
ing the vine decoction, the chips of wood should be ²⁷⁸
swallowed with the liquor?"

RAIN-MAKING AND HEAVENLY BODIES 255

unfortunate, for not attending to their business, and they sometimes in such cases threatened to carry their complaints not only to the Chief God of all, but to the King of Fiends as well, whom they would ask to punish the gods! They do not "hallow" the name of God as they should do. [789]

Another curious mode of producing rain was told me. It was this. "The animals who act as cooks to bears (i.e., racoons), are of a very fiery temper and they hear quickly when addressed, and so it comes to pass that when a person kills one, he presents fetishes to its head and worships it. Thus it is that when men go to the fisheries, they carry the skulls of these animals with them. The purpose is that when the weather is continuously calm, and the fishermen have to work incessantly both by day and by night, they get tired, and long for a spell of rest. When such calms come, they take out their racoon skulls during the night and pray to them. The prayer used is this: "O ye gods, this calm weather is lasting too long. We are very tired. Please send some bad weather so that we may not be able to work." After this prayer has been said, the men throw water hither and thither and over one another, and make merry. If this be properly done, bad storms are certain to follow with rain, and then they get rest and are refreshed. [778] ●

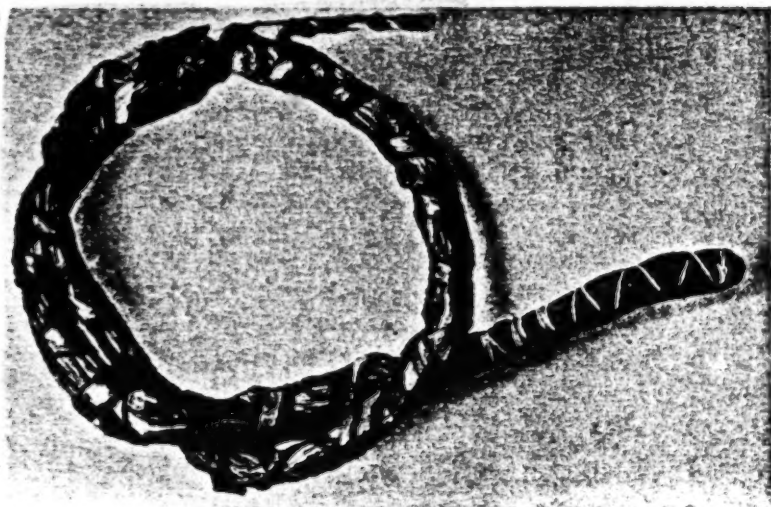
"As soon as the rough weather begins, they buy whisky, worship and offer libations to the skull which has been so good to them. If they wish the weather to be more severe and to last longer, the men make gloves and caps of racoon and pine-marten skins, put them on and dance. By doing this, the rain and storm requested follow. [782]

Rain was also produced by dipping bunches of mugwort in water and sprinkling the ground with it; also by filling the mouth with water and squirting it from the lips.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927

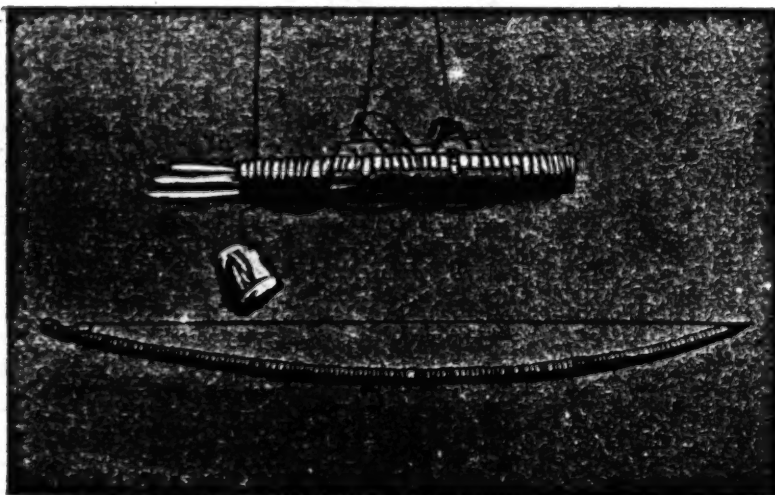
AB6 Ainu AB6

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A SNAKE EFFIGY

411
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BOW, QUIVER AND ARROWS

[P.258(A)]

WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

200

out to sea. Those represented by the images were then 789
to die from hunger, thirst or drowning. I wanted to 754
take these things, but the chief would not allow me to
touch them, for he was afraid the curse intended for
others might fall on me if I did so! And to take them
would be a sort of sacrilege on my part. I was really
in the midst of a great whirl of superstition among
these people, and I found it always necessary to walk
warily.

It is very strange that, although snakes are very 825
much feared by this people, both men and women wor- 778 ●
ship them on occasion. Not only are they made 787
objects of divine worship, but they are also used in
divination. And although they are said to have a
special spite against women, and are ever seeking to
possess them and drive them mad, yet there are some
women who actually keep snake skins as special charms
and fortune-bringing agents. I well knew one woman,
and she was a very much feared shaman, who kept the
image of one of these reptiles in a box to use in
divination.

The men, I found, were much averse to killing snakes 825
themselves, because they thought that by so doing, evil 784
spirits, which they supposed to dwell in them, would,
upon leaving their old homes in the reptiles, forthwith
enter the heart of the slayer and work diabolical spells
there. No doubt this was the reason Mr. Bright sent
for me to go and kill the demon-snake which had got
into his granary, an account of which has already been
given. These folk seemed to imagine that I was beyond
being harmed by the devils! And this I took as a great
compliment and killed many of these creatures for
them. Should one be seen to cross the path of a
woman, then, indeed, the men would try to kill it, for,
said they, snake possession was the chief cause of all 845
troubles connected with childbirth, and the only cer-
tain antidote was to slay the creature, for it was un-
doubtedly seeking to possess the woman. It was also

539 their enchantments it was seen that he felt the influence of their spells so that he drew together much rubbish and covered himself up with a great cloud of dust.*

"It was now the time of sunset. It was growing dark and the ceremonial instruments were set in order.**

"The people then made a lot of tiny fires of fir branches about the floor. The drum sounded loud. The fires were put out. Then the three shamans performed in earnest. The demon also performed in like manner. He put much rubbish over his body and, taking some old torn shoes, held them before him, clapping them together. As the shamans performed, the gods were heard to come flocking over the top of the house. Their coming sounded like the wind blowing. Then was heard a whistling, as of an arrow from the gods as it came in through the smoke hole towards the demon.†

"Whilst the people were looking at him, the demon clapped before his body with the tattered shoes, and fended the arrow off. That god-sent arrow came against him, but he warded it off. The people saw the god-sent arrow sticking in the tattered shoes. 'Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!' roared the demon. 'They have shot the old shoes. Iha-ha-ha-ha-ha!' He laughed exceedingly much.

754 *As the séance proceeds, the shamans intimate to the people what they themselves see; or perhaps I should say, what they wish them to see. The people being now in a state of great expectancy, have become hypnotized and see just as is suggested by the shamans, who now hold them spell-bound. The devil is certainly present, for they can see him with their own eyes, and nothing can persuade them otherwise.

[292
778] **The ceremonial paraphernalia consisted of a drum, a drumstick, a small cap, a wooden wand, some animal and bird skulls, and some fetish shavings.

†The people were in such a completely subconscious state of mind that they would see or hear anything the shamans told them to. These shamans are tremendous spiritists and I have had a world of bother with them at times.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainnu AB6

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A FISHERMAN'S CLUSTER OF PETISHES

[P.296(A)]

CHAPTER XXXIV

A FIGHT WITH A MARINE DEMON

That many animals and birds were from of old first 262 worshipped by the Ainu and then killed and eaten with 732 due ceremony, and had libations of *sake* offered them 778 and drunk in their honour, and fetishes of wood made for and set before them, has already been mentioned. Many kinds of fish, too, were treated to special worship, as were also the gods and demons of the sea. In travelling along the coasts of Hokkaidō, even today, many clusters of fetishes may be seen where the Ainu push off their boats to go out fishing.

These fetishes are simply shaved sticks with the 778 shavings left attached and depending from the top, and 226 lifted up on high by being tied to poles. These are in some cases offerings and signs of prayer to the sea gods, that is to say, to the fish and marine animals. In some instances they are set up simply as propitiatory offerings. Some are to the sun, and others are to the wind and weather sprites. And thus we find religion and superstition, like the Siamese twins, ever together.

One day, now many years ago, we went to a sea-226 side place called Shiraoi. We took a magic lantern with us, as I intended to give an exhibition that evening. Arrangements were made to have the show in the chief's large hut, and due preparations were made. Toward evening we found it would be impossible to get the people together, because a large number of the men, who had gone far out to sea in their boats early in the morning in order to spear sword-fish, had not re-

226 turned, and the women and children would have to be busy, as soon as the darkness set in, keeping up beacon fires along the shore as guides to the returning boats, and then help their fathers and husbands to land and cut up the fish and carry it home. It was indeed a busy and anxious time with them all.

226 The next morning we went out and soon found that
782 the men had been successful. The boats themselves told us that, for when the men have been fortunate enough to spear a sword-fish, they dispose of their fishing tackle in a particular way, and ornament the boats with a number of fetishes. This is done as follows. The boat is drawn a good way up, well out of reach of the tide, the bow being placed facing the sea for relaunching as soon as required. The four oars are then stuck into the ground and tied together in pairs at the upper end and made to lean over the boat so as to form a sort of long tent, one pair of oars being placed at the bow end and the other at the stern. A long pole, which the men use in pushing the boat along through the surf and shallow water, is then laid across them in such a way as to reach from stem to stern. The spears and harpoons, together with the ropes and lines, are laid upon this pole. When this had been done according to custom, Japanese alcohol, called *shōchū* was on this occasion procured, one bottle for each. Then the men worked hard, decapitated the sword-fish and stuck it in the sand by the snout for worship. It seemed to me to be more or less an offering to its own spirit. That done, the creature was cut up and divided out.

226 After the alcohol had been procured and drunk, the
● [778] bottles were stuck on the ends of the boat and row-
527 lock pins, and many fetishes made and set about. The sea-gods were thanked for the assistance they had given in procuring such a fine fish, and the fish itself was greatly praised for suffering himself to be caught

DEMON AND DEMI-GOD

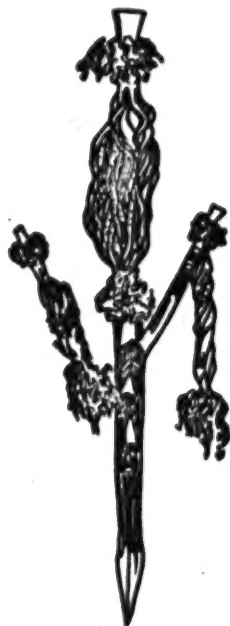
307

the demon had gone away, Yairespo said to me, 'Boy, 539
see towards thy home as quickly as thou possibly
canst. As thou passest the headland of this island, [778 ●
go ashore and cut one piece of alder wood and an- 824]
other of birch. With them whittle the fetishes and
stick them on thy boat. Then make another fetish
out of the tree called *mita-mi* which is the particular
magic tree of the wicked demon-god. And all will be
well. From the days of my early childhood
thy grandfather and I have been very close
friends. This is the reason I have made known to thee
the great danger thou hast run into by coming here.
When thou passest through the midst of the sea on
the journey homeward, thou wilt surely hear behind
thee a great noise of gods fighting. When a little
shower shall fall upon the boat, know thou that I shall
then have been wounded. Again, as thou goest far-
ther away from this place and art getting nearer to thy
home, rain will descend upon thy boat from above.
When this happens, know thou that I shall have slain
that very wicked demon-god. Thy grandfather is much
concerned about thee, as thou hast been absent so long,
being in this direction. Yea, he is much disquieted
about thee. He has departed from his house and now,
behold, he stands at the very end of the path nearest
the sea and is looking hitherwards. Knowing that I
dwell on this island, he is looking up to Heaven praying,
with his thoughts to me-ward, seeking my help for
thee.' So spake he.

"I saw my grandfather's prayers standing in the
clouds above like a rainbow. Their influence—their
efficacy—stretched over the sea, from one end to the
other, for my good. For me did his prayers wend their
way.

"WILD DANCE," AND WARRING ON TREE 337

and then would come the owl-like cry *woh, woh, woh.* 752
 And they would curse loudly. I came near them and 776
 found they were storming at the evil geni of the tree. 824
 There had been an accident. One of those present told
 me that a man had fallen out of the tree and been
 killed. The people had therefore assembled to perform a
 ceremony they called *Niskush rorumbé*, i.e., "making



[782
 778]

A FETISH OFFERING

war upon the demon tree." After watching for some time, I returned to my lodgings and later in the evening asked for more particular information with regard to this matter. The following lore was then given me.

"Should a person climb a tree and then fall out of it and be killed, or should a person cut down a tree and

BOY SAVES BROTHERS FROM A DEMON 343

when they rose from their beds, they made fetishes for 539
the two wolves and also for the bear god. They wor-
shipped and made new gods of them. And so again [782
these newly-made guardian-gods look upon my bro- 778] ●
thers with special favour. They have already become
more prosperous than ever before. They hunt with
great success and easily make many kills. They take
many skins and galls which they barter at a good price
and so are able to obtain many more treasures and
precious things. They have become far richer than
any of the old inhabitants of Eastern Turu."

ON TREE WORSHIP

265

Thus there

is no wonder that it is much thought of by the men, 778●
and some sticks taken from it and made into fetishes.

This tree is often met with in Ainu folklore and there is one tradition I know of, in which its occurrence has led me to think that it may possibly have been a kind of tribal totem, as the willow is the universal totem among them.

The inhabitants of Tunnai-cha, on the eastern 824
shore of Saghalien, regard the ash-tree with special 539
affection, and by its aid account for their clan origin. There is a tradition which tells how a pair of eagles, having taken up their abode in the top of a fine ash tree, rescued a child from destruction when the other members of the clan had all been wiped out in a massacre by their enemies. They fed the child till he was grown up and went on a voyage to another land, where he caught a young goddess who came down from Heaven with many others to dance, sing, and hear and tell stories. He brought this damsel goddess to his house under the beautiful ash tree, where the eagles, who had their home in the topmost branches, had reared him to manhood. It is a remarkable story and has already been told in full in Chapter XXVII.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927

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FETISH SPECIMENS



[P. 360(A)]

CHAPTER XLV

WOOD FETISHES AND THE SLAYING OF THE DEMON
OF DISEASE

On examining the wood fetishes made by the Ainu, 778 ● one finds many forms of them which are used for a variety of gods and demons on varying occasions. At first it was quite impossible to get any of the men to talk about and explain them. It was a religious question and they did not care to enter into conversation on the matter. In the course of years, however, I managed to pick up much about them, and this chapter is, in part, the result.

The household fetish seems to be the most important of them all. He has already been described in chapter twenty-three. That connected with the "Birth-tree," as well as the "Heart" or "Pulse" of the house, have also been mentioned. I believe the next in importance is that which is called "Fetish with twisted shavings," and may be seen anywhere by the visitor. It has a long stem and consists simply of long strings of shavings tied to the top end of a stick some two or three feet in length. Fetishes of this kind are made as offerings to any deity and indicate respect and high honour. They are presented to the sun and set up by the fireside. I was once present when one was offered to the Creator of all things, at which time the following prayer was said.

"O Thou God Who dwellest in the highest heavens!
O Thou Who hast Thy abode in the lofty and glorious
skies above us! O Creator of the world, condescend to
accept this fetish and these saké drops which we

778 now present unto Thee. As a return for them and this worship, be Thou pleased to bless us." Such was the prayer I heard, and it was said with great earnestness. Another kind of fetish is named "Fetish with shavings spread out." It is made as an offering to the gods of the mountains, rivers, and sea. When set up, such are saluted and have libation drops of saké offered them. The prayer said at such a time is like this;

782 "O gods of the mountains, rivers, and sea, should the people at any time fall sick, condescend to cure them; should food become scarce, favour us with plenty. Ye mighty Ones, ye are great and powerful; therefore we present these beautiful fetishes, which our forefathers taught us to make, to you all. Graciously accept them and rejoice over them." I was informed that some of these things were made for gods near at hand, and others for those supposed to be more remote. One such kind is called "Turning backwards fetish," and I was told this was for such deities as stood between the higher and lower gods and demons. These fetishes may be seen by springs of water, paths, garden plots, precipices, and at times by the fireside. They are for the tutelary gods. I was once asked to join a party which was making them, but declined with thanks. The men were all crowned with rings of shavings, and looked very comical as they sat there peeling sticks.

778 On entering a certain hut in the village one day, I was greatly astonished to encounter a strong evil odour. Upon looking round the place, I soon discovered the cause. The master of the place had a large number of fetishes, big and little, which he called "Little carved birds," set up in many places. These consisted of sticks of elder (supposed to be a tree of evil), shaved downwards instead of upwards, each

THE SLAYING OF THE DEMON OF DISEASE 383

having a notch cut in the top of it, which he said was the "mouth." On the mouth of each was laid some kind of stuff which had a very disagreeable smell. Some had putrified fish, some a lump of garlic, others scrapings of albatross bill, some powdered deer horn and some a little bear's gall on them. 778 ●

I ventured to ask my friend the meaning of all these things, and he told me they were set about as a defence against the fearful demons of epidemic disease who were then stalking about Ainu-land. He said that the sticks were representations of eagles, hawks and owls who held the putrified, smelly matter in their bills and so fought against the demons on behalf of the people. The strips cut downwards on the sticks represented the feathers of the birds, who were standing there in great wrath, ready to attack and slay any demon which should dare to appear. The killing was done by the filthy smell, for no demon would be able to endure it. Should he inhale any of it, the effect would be death. 731 778

Upon asking why elder sticks were used in preference to the usual willow, this drew forth the following piece of lore.

"Elder and not willow wood is used in making this kind of fetish, because this is an unlucky tree and poisonous. Being so, it is greatly hated by the demons of disease. If such a demon comes anywhere near it, he quickly dies. These kinds of fetishes are sometimes called 'Thick Club.' This is because they knock the demons on the head when they appear, and so slay them outright." Then my friend added, "Posts of elder are used by some to mark the graves of children, for, being brittle, this wood soon breaks, and so is a fitting symbol of a short, snapped-off life. The bigger branches are used for carrying corpses to their graves, and when done with are left there to rot." 824. 778 [77]

823 Their silence also, together with the quiet of the surrounding mountains, all helped to inspire one with a kind of feeling that we were being watched by invisible beings and there was a continuous expectancy as of something, one did not know what, about to happen or be seen. And the silence was, sometimes, according to the place we were in or passing, such as might be felt.

These old Druid-like men were always a source of wonder and speculation with me, and I seemed to catch something of their spirit. We all seemed to have our moods, and our converse was more by look than by word of mouth. Their belief forcibly reminded me, as I sat there quietly in the boat, watching the beautiful scenery or passing rugged, dangerous places, of all one had heard in days of childhood about our own genii and ghouls, jins and ogres, spooks, sprites, elves and imps, brownies, nymphs, dryads and mermen with their kind, and I thought "Well, after all, the Ainu and our own forebears had much in common." It was all most solemn, interesting and instructive, and I really felt that I was getting a little insight into Ainu psychology. The people were *living* their superstitions, not talking about them, except with hushed voice and reverent demeanour. I contradicted them in nothing, laughed at nothing, and so got to learn much more than I could otherwise have done. Sympathy wins where scorn is bound to lose.

778 The genius loci of the sources of rivers are called
782 *Pet-cloh-mat*, and this means "Head-water-female." It is said to be the special sphere of such to superintend the river sources. These must be worshipped and fetishes made and set up before them. And people must treat them with all honour and be quiet before them. Otherwise vengeance will be taken and the waters dried up.

823 of rivers, as they are both of a mischievous nature.
 776 They are not, however, entirely vicious, for if fetishes
 are offered to them they are pleased and will do no
 harm. But if they are insulted or neglected, they will
 • [778] come along some night and knock down just that rich
 part of a soft bank where the women have sown their
 millet and other garden stuff.

By and by we came to places where the current was
 strong and there were some fairly big rapids to pass
 through with our tiny boat. I was asked to get out and
 walk down, but I told my two men that I would not do
 so unless they did also, for I had thorough confidence
 in their skill. "In that case," they said, "then you
 will please sit very still indeed and hold fast on to the
 side of the boat." I agreed to this and so we went on.
 We got through to the other end quite safely and very
 little wet. The genii supposed to inhabit such places
 are male and female. They are called, "Senders down
 of the currents" (*Chiu-range-guru*), and "Valiant and
 Divine Male Current" (*Chiuksa-pinne-Kamui-Rametok*).
 These, I was told, must be worshipped and propitiated
 with fetishes.

The mermen and mermaids, with others, have been
 mentioned elsewhere as occasion has suggested, so are
 not spoken of again in this place. The general name for
 such is "Demons which pass through the water"
 (*Pe-poso-koshimpuk*).

GENII AND GHOULS OF THE SEA

103 Not far from Muroran on the south eastern coast
 of Hokkaidō, there is a fishing village which the Japa-
 nese call *Washidetsu*. As written with Chinese ideo-
 graphs, as the names of places on this island have been
 done for hundreds of years past by the Japanese, this
 means "Eagle Different" and seems to be quite an
 absurd appellation. But it should be remembered that

CHAPTER L

THE BAT OR FLITTER-MOUSE FETISH

I think that which most disagreeably affected me and struck me with the greatest wonder when I visited an Ainu village for the first time, was the weird and unsightly assembly of skulls I found set up outside the east end windows of some of the huts, and the very unsavoury smell and hideous appearance of the heads of birds and some of the smaller animals which I saw placed on trays in the north-eastern angle inside the dwellings. That the Ainu are worshippers of the spirits of departed animals and birds cannot in the face of these things be doubted for a moment, for it is an incontrovertible fact that visitors see, even at the present day, the skulls of bears, racoons, foxes, bats and owls, vultures and eagles, kites, albatrosses and other creatures, such as rats and mice, sparrows and crows, used as fetishes and charms, and on occasion worshipped. Indeed, unless the departed spirits of such things have divine honour and worship paid them, it is thought that the creatures to which they once belonged, or, rather, which formerly inhabited them, will come and bewitch the people who have them, for they expect to be worshipped and look upon it as their right. 346 778 774 [224]

On talking to an old Ainu on these matters in general, he said, "When our young men are gone away to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home procure some *saké*, pour it into a cup, and go and offer libations to the goddess of fire, the ancestral fetish, the fetish cluster, and the skulls. At such times they make many fresh fetishes as offerings, and worship, 782 778

782 saying, 'O ye gods, our sons have gone away, and are
778 now wandering hither and thither in pursuit of animals
and fish. We think much of them. Oh, do ye watch
over them and prosper them. Help them in what they
are doing, and bring them safely home.' So do the
old men."

778 I woke up one morning to find the skeleton of a
fitter-mouse or bat resting on one tray close to my
head, and the skull of a racoon on another very near
by. Phew! What a smell! They smelt quite
fusty and musty and in every way disagreeable.
When I got up, I asked the master of the hut what
these things meant and he then gave me the following
lore.

The Ainu name for the bat is *Kapep Kemui*, and this
means, I believe, 'The divine hook-winged.' When
killed, his head and skin are kept wrapped up in fetish
shavings and used as a charm. He is classed among
the birds, and is supposed to be a special defence
against disease and demons in general, like the al-
batross. It is also said that when used as a fetish and
properly and reverently treated, he will make one wise,
which word sometimes, nay, very often, I am afraid,
stands for 'crafty.' The following legend tells how he
once slew a demon of disease by exercising his so-called
wisdom in feigning death, and thereby accounts for
the fact of his being kept as a fetish; for, being very
wise, he is supposed to be able to bestow that quality
on those who keep his skeleton by them.

531
825
776 "The divine bat did not come down from Paradise,
but was made by God in this world. He is a very
precious bird and exceedingly wise. It is said that a
person named Polyaumbe had a town upon the moun-
tains of Battle River. Now it happened that Polyaumbe
was continually and in many ways being persecuted
and hard put to it by demons, and this led him to de-
clare war upon them. As he was such a mighty deity,
the demons could not withstand him, for he conquered

226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
 227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These
 heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an
 iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as
 a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come
 off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by
 means of the strings (5) which are attached to the
 spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure
 (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the
 bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece
 of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with
 white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone
 (a), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (b)
 made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The
 fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having
 two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning
 sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those
 used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to
 them, which was drawn along the bottom of the
 streams and rivers, and which the fish would some
 times follow and so be caught.

● 778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
 782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
 226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed,
 however, that some of these fish were looked upon
 as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied
 to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were
 shedding their scales immediately before death. They
 were named *tenki-sci-chep*, which Penri said meant
 "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
 251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
 262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they
 were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were
 tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of
 those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

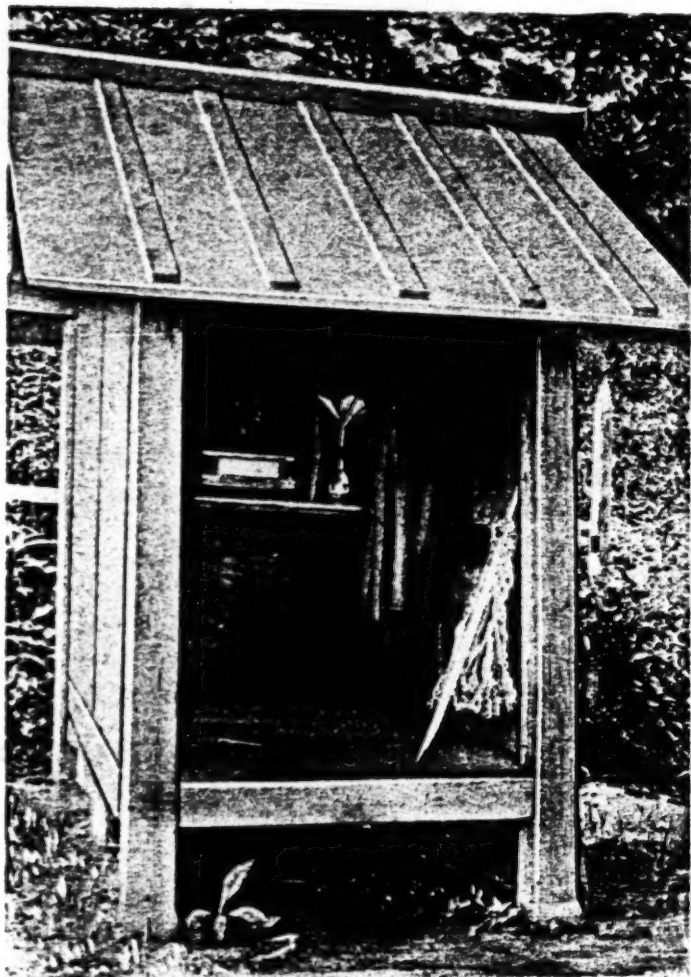
539 refrain from eating. And so thou didst utterly destroy
226 me. (By casting the cut-up fish to the four winds the
gentleman destroyed the demon of famine). Tomorrow,
when thou dost arise from thy couch, do thou set up
a fetish and name the demon of famine. Thou shalt
then see what thou shalt see.' Such was the dream.

[556 "The next day the gentleman arose and reflected
● 778 thus: 'Some god or other has been playing upon me and
has made me dream that dream. He told me to make
and offer a fetish, which I will do at once.' He did so,
and worshipped it, mentioning the name of the god of
famine. The fish then came again in greater numbers
than ever. The famine demon was put to flight and the
gentleman was very happy. He prospered greatly and
every season had in his waters a superabundance of
fish, which he caught and dried. The six storehouses
were filled to their fullest extent with food, and the
people again went to him and purchased it, carrying
many precious things and swords in exchange. They
paid him well indeed.

"This went on every season, so that the gentleman
became the most wealthy man in the whole country
and his house was well stocked with riches. Aye, he
became an exceedingly famous person."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
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346



SHRINE OF YOSHITSUNE

(The fetish in front is the only Ainu thing about it.)

[P. 412]

CHAPTER LIII

ABOUT AINU HEROES

One day, after having been away on furlough for a few months, I returned to Piratori without first sending word to the chief that I was coming. Upon arrival, I was surprised to find my little room (six feet by nine) occupied by a small earthenware idol, standing about two feet high, and very ugly. It was made to resemble a Japanese warrior and was dressed *cap-a-pis* in full armour. It had the regulation two swords stuck into its girdle, and sat prepared for any emergency. 177 778 ●

As soon as we had finished our somewhat lengthy salutations, the chief apologized for having put the image into my room, and Mrs. Penri hastened to carry it off and stow it away in her godown with the millet and vegetables. I found out afterwards that when my visits were over and I went elsewhere, the idol came out and was installed in my room for the convenience of such Japanese as might be passing through the village, but when I returned, it always found its home in the storehouse.

Knowing that the Ainu never made images of human beings for worship, I asked the chief how it came to pass he had this one in the village. This is his reply. "It is altogether a Japanese affair, made by Japanese and set up by them. The idol itself is about a hundred and twenty years old. It was brought to Piratori and set up in a tiny shrine on a point of the mountain close to our river. One day while you were away, a big storm of wind blew and sent the shrine,

177 with the idol, into the river. I went and rescued it
● 778 and am now keeping it till the Japanese make another
shrine for it and set it up elsewhere. The image is
supposed to represent one whom the Japanese call
Yoshitsune, who came to Piratori, as some think, to
escape the sword of his brother, many years ago.
Please pardon me for putting him in your room when
you are away."

It is supposed by some that Yoshitsune (a historical Japanese warrior of the twelfth century) fled from the Main Island of Japan and came to Hokkaidō, where he was lost sight of. But it is really very doubtful whether he ever came to this island. In fact, the most learned students and authorities in Japanese history will have it that he was beheaded at Hiraizumi, near Sendai, and the Ainu themselves are very doubtful, and can afford no reliable proof of his presence here. However, the large shrine which has been set up at Piratori is a purely Japanese affair, built in my time. It has its Japanese priest; the people, Ainu and Japanese, are assessed for its upkeep, and the school children all have to go to the shrine for worship on festivals and high-days. Thus Yoshitsune has become the tutelary god of Piratori, and one more deity has been added to the Japanese pantheon.

776 The Ainu have handed down to posterity the names of very few heroes. Aecina, "the Teacher," who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, takes the lead. After him comes one called Ponyaumbe, sometimes called Yairespo, "The solitary One," and then one other whom they called Samatuye. But very little is said of any of them. The very latest man of note in Hokkaidō was named Shagushain Ainu. He had a sort of fort at Shipichara (Shimogebo) on a hill by the river. In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun)

POSSESSION BY FOXES

421

power of speech and the other with powers of a mad-539
man's chatter, who imitates what others may be 825
saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady 789
what was happening about the bears. That done, I
made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes,
and waited there, well hidden from view.

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone
walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh*,
through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking
was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green
twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out
to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped
upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the
tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a
madman. At the same time down fell the stumps
right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned
and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps
and had only just finished when along came another
bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as be-
fore, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and
then they fell heavily on his back. He became very
angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house 539
and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two 825
mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes 776
in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last 782
the master returned with much rice, *sake*, cloth and 778
other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they
were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six
little brother foxes came twice and used their magical
skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away.
But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox,
who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive.
Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them,
but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When
he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me

539 and made many fetishes for me, which he set up in
825 various places.

776 "Thanks to this, I have become a new creature,
782 strong and well, and big. And I have become his
778 guardian angel. When I look down from above and see
this fine gentleman, I find that whatever he does, he
does well, and he has become the richest man in the
whole of that district. He has prospered beyond all
others, because I look down upon him with favour."

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

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floor for his accommodation. The fireplace, situated about in the middle of the room, is a rectangular depression about 5 feet by 3, filled with ashes, on which a smoky fire of green wood fitfully lights the gloomy interior. An iron pot, of Japanese manufacture, is suspended above the fire, in which food is almost constantly cooking. One or more *inao*, or gol-sticks, usually stand upright in the ashes. There is usually a sort of latticed shelf suspended at some distance from the fire, on which fish are dried and smoked and strings of roots or other vegetable products hang in festoons preserved for winter food. A rectangular window at the back of the house admits all the light, except such as makes its way in through the chimney. The interior is therefore always gloomy. The beams and rafters are covered with a thick coating of shiny, black soot, which slowly accumulates upon them from the fire. Even in summer the atmosphere within these houses is often so full of smoke as to make one's eyes water. At night a large, flat mussel-shell, *Pecten Japonicus*, supported on a three-forked stick standing upright in the ashes, with a wick and fish oil, gives a faint light, and it is a weird sight indeed to see these dark-visaged, kindly savages grouped around the smouldering embers.

At this village, Bekkai, or as the name was also pronounced, Bitskai, about 12 miles from Nemuro, there are six houses of this character. The Aino population is given as 56 persons, living in 14 houses, but many of the other houses are built more like Japanese houses of a very inferior kind. From my observations I should say that there can not be so many Ainos in the village. Many of the Japanese have Aino wives. It is possible that there are one or two pure Aino families there, but I doubt it.

All the houses at Bekkai front toward the east, or easterly. The back window, therefore, faces the west. This is a fact worthy of particular notice, as it has been repeatedly asserted that all the Aino houses face the south. The houses at Piratori are mostly built east and west, without any door at the end. There is an entrance to the main room on the south side, and also an entrance to the hall or entrance passage on the south side. In the houses at Piratori there is a window on the east side. Numerous *inao* are hung on strings along the wall near one corner. One might readily suppose, from the writings of different authors, that there is some great significance in the fact that the houses in southern Yezo are built with their lengths east and west, and in the position of the east window. But I doubt if there is any more meaning in it than that a southern exposure is desirable in a cold northern land, and that the morning sun streams in through the east window. It is, indeed, possible that the latter is a place of worship; but I have not found that the huts are built in this direction throughout Yezo. They do not always have east windows. The house shown in Plate C, for example, has only a west window. The same may be said of the custom of placing the treasures in the northeast corner, mentioned by

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SACRED HEDGE, NUSHA KAMUI.

[Facing p. 472 (D)]

226 are each year utilized for the same purpose. The true salmon is also abundant on the coast. The fisheries of Yezo are too valuable to be conducted in the present careless and wasteful manner, and by proper government control might readily become a great source of wealth to Japan.

BOATS.

501 The ordinary river boats or canoes are dugouts. A common form is shown in Plate CX, from Tokoro on the north. A different form from Urap is represented in Plate CXI. The dimensions of a dugout at Teikaga, a small village far up the Kusuri River, were as follows:

Width of ends.....	inches..	11
Width of middle.....	do.....	28
Length, about.....	feet...	26

This boat was made of a single log, with considerable sheer at the ends.

Boats intended for rough water are often built with dugout logs for the bottom, and a free-board of considerable height made of planks bound on with bark lashings. Many of the large fishing boats are made in this manner and they are exceedingly strong. They measure perhaps 50 feet in length and 10 feet beam, with a great sheer, especially in front.

BELIGION.

771 The Ainu religion is a very primitive nature-worship. The gods are invisible, formless conceptions, known as *kamui*, such as the house god, the god of fire, and the deities of mountain, forest, sea, and river. The sun and moon occupy a subordinate position among them. There are no priests nor temples, but within every house there is one corner sacred to the house-god. The god of fire, who is esteemed highest of all, is worshiped at the fire-place in the middle of the room. The others receive their due at the *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge (Pl. CXII), which will be described in the account of the bear feast further on. It might naturally be supposed that this rude structure of branches and poles represents what was originally a hedge or fence built around the house for protection against the inroads of wild beasts, or possibly against enemies. The skulls of bears and foxes may have originally been placed upon the hedge as charms against evil. All this, however, is purely speculative; but there is a picture in Mr. Greey's book, "The Bear Worshipers of Yezo" (p. 105), representing a house of rather unusual form, which is shown to be protected on at least three sides by a rude sort of fence, such as may well be regarded as an early counterpart of the *nusha kamui*.

776 In addition to the sacred hedge, upon which the bear and fox skulls are displayed, there is a smaller hedge, before which the hulls of food-

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grains are thrown in heaps. This is known as the *wurukuta-nusha* 773 (wuru hulls, *kuta* to throw), and it is under the special protection of a female deity, who would be offended if the hulls were thrown broadcast over the ground.

Storms are caused by the strife of the thunder-gods who dwell in the 321 clouds. These gods are associated with the lion, for it is related that 776 the people once caught a lion, which escaped on a black cloud. The thunder is the noise of battling hosts, and the glancing, swords the lightning. At least so says Dr. Scheube, but the idea is almost too poetical for the Ainu.

Some of the Japanese deities have found a place among the native 776 gods, but these are foreign to the spirit of the Ainu religion and can scarcely receive great reverence. In one house I saw three shrines, 777 evidently representing the Japanese *kami dana*. Before one of them were some faded artificial flowers standing in bottles clearly labeled "Lemon Drops, J. T. Morton."

The Japanese hero Yoshitsune is supposed to have fled to Yezo, and is generally regarded as the famous personage known to the Ainu as Okikurumi. It is said that the Ainu have only a single divinity of human origin, the ancestor of the race, Aioina. Nevertheless, there has long been a simple shrine to Yoshitsune on the summit of a hill near Piratori, which Miss Bird has described. But this author* refers to Yoshitsune as "the great god of the mountain Ainu." It is even doubtful whether the Ainu did in fact worship Yoshitsune as a god; certainly it is incredible that he should be elevated to the high place assigned to him by Miss Bird. I was myself on the spot, with the famous chief Benri as my guide, but a recent storm, which had delayed me by making the rivers impassable, had also blown the shrine away, and its fragments were lying scattered down the steep hill-side.

The Ainu have but few religious symbols. The most important of 778 these are the *inoo*, frequently called god-sticks, three forms of which are represented in Fig. 86. In some way, not very clearly understood, these represent the gods. One or more will always be found stuck in the ashes of the fireplace, and others here and there at convenient places on the wall of the house. They are simply ingeniously whittled sticks, usually of willow, with the long curled shavings pendant. Some have short spirals directed upward and are covered with bark at the lower end. Further notes upon their variety and use will be found in the course of the description of the bear feast.

The sacred quiver is made of carved wood with various metallic trimmings representing the sun and moon. It is associated with the house god, but during the great bear feast it is hung on the sacred hedge. The skulls of bears and foxes are placed on the sacred hedge. The former are by far the more common, but every house is said to contain at least one fox skull, which may be a treasure handed down

* Bird, Isabella L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, II, 72.

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grains are thrown in heaps. This is known as the *murukuta-nusha* 773 (*murukuta*, *kuta* to throw), and it is under the special protection of a female deity, who would be offended if the hulls were thrown broadcast over the ground.

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* Bird, Isabella L. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, II, 72.

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REPORT OF NATIONAL MUSEUM, 1890.

778 through several generations. The skull of a fox is supposed to ward off evil from the house. It is sometimes carried to the hunt and to sea as a protection against evil spirits. It is also consulted as an oracle,

[825
787]

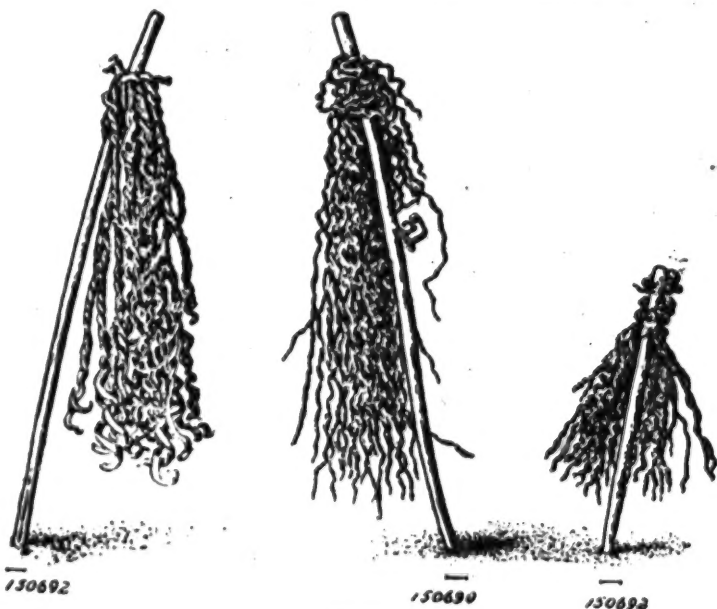


Fig. 86.

INAO — WILLOW STICKS WITH SHAVINGS ATTACHED.

and questioned concerning articles lost or stolen, or when fishermen lose their way at sea, in order to learn the direction home.

FORTUNE-TELLING.

787 The manner of consulting the fox-skull oracle has been described by Dr. Scheube. After presenting a drink-offering, the skull is taken in the two hands while a prayer is spoken. Then, placing the under jaw on his head, the person bows forward until it falls, and the direction towards which it points, indicates the place where the lost or stolen article is to be found. If the jawbone falls on its side, or so that the teeth are down, the answer is not decisive and the question must be repeated. A thief discovered in this manner is not brought to trial, but the owner of the property waits patiently until the offender brings back the stolen goods and seeks forgiveness. The Ainu also read the lines of the palm of the hand.

[685]

THE BEAR FEAST.

796 The great Ainu festival is the so-called bear feast, which is celebrated in September or October. This festival is of such an important charac-

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ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be ⁷⁹⁶ present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted.

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and ³⁴³ *nusha kamui* should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it.

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in ⁷⁷⁸ Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Ainu language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience.

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads ¹¹⁴ substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a *makimono* formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance.

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the ⁸²⁵ bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an ⁷⁷⁶

* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasien, Dec., 1880.

825 error to suppose that the Ainuos regard the bear as a god in the same
 776 sense as they do the God of Fire, for example, or any of their other
 numerous deities. The bear is called *Kimui*; *Kamui-Kamui* is an Ainu
 word having about the same meaning as the Japanese *Kami*, and per-
 haps is derived from it. But the same word is used as an honorable
 [574] appellation for foreign visitors, upon whom we can not possibly believe
 they would confer the attributes of a deity.

The Ainuos have good reason to respect the bear. It is a most valuable
 animal, affording them food and clothing and a medicine, the bear-gall,
 which is greatly prized. On the other hand, it can do them great injury,
 as when it destructively enters their dwellings and kills their domestic
 animals. Therefore it is natural that they should seek to propitiate
 the bear, to confer upon him a title of great honor, and that they should
 consider an atonement necessary for putting him to death. They place
 the skull of the dead bear on the sacred hedge, the *usuka kamui*,
 which is found on the east side of every house, where it is held sacred
 and honored as a representative of the gods under the name *Kamui*
 [778] *marapto*. The *usuka kamui*, god's fence, or sacred hedge, (Pl. CXII)
 is where the various gods are worshiped, except the God of Fire and
 the house-god, to which offerings are made at certain places within the
 house. The bear feast is named *iomante*. This ceremony, as well as the
 preliminary feeding and rearing of a young bear, has also the motive
 of an atonement to the whole bear tribe for the killing of its brothers
 and sisters.

231 At the end of winter a young bear is caught, placed in a cage (Pl.
 796 CXII), and reared in the village. At first it is suckled by the wife of
 the captor, afterwards fed with fish. The bear festival usually takes
 place in September or October, by which time the young bear has grown
 so large and strong as to threaten to break the cage. The Ainuos first
 endeavor to exculpate themselves before the gods for what they are
 about to undertake. Having rendered the bear every favor possible,
 they can no longer keep him in captivity; therefore it is necessary to
 kill him.

786 The man who gives the feast, assumes the expense thereof and in-
 vites his relatives and friends. Such a festival is, considering the pov-
 erty of the Ainuos, very expensive, for enormous quantities of saké are
 consumed. Hence it is considered a great honor to give a bear feast.
 At the present time the bear feasts are becoming more and more in-
 frequent. On the east coast, so far as I traveled (from Tomakomai to
 Volcano Bay), no bear feast had been held for several years. The same
 remark applies to the district around Mori, on Volcano Bay. I have
 generally seen caged bears only on the road from Urap to Oshamambe.
 In this region I found the Ainuos least affected by culture. Here, in the
 small village of Kunnai, I spent the day, which will be the subject
 of the following description:

On the 10th of August of this year, about noon, I arrived at Kunnai,

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

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3 "ri" from Oshamambe. The host, in whose house the bear feast was to be celebrated, met us with friendly greetings. The people all wore their best clothes which, indeed, when the unclean habits of the Ainos are considered, is not saying much. On festive occasions they frequently wear fine old Japanese garments. It is a comic picture to see a worthy old Aino in a long silk gown, richly decorated with embroidery, which may have served years before in the wardrobe of a Japanese singing or dancing girl, now indeed, with its faded colors and spots of dirt, showing but little of its original beauty. The older men wear a peculiar head-dress (Fig. 87) named *shaba umpe*, a kind of crown, worn only on



Fig. 87.

CEREMONIAL BARK HEAD-DRESS.

great occasions. This is plaited of the bark of a wild vine and adorned with spiral shavings, bear's claws, vine tendrils, etc. Its dark color is due to the smoke, which fills every Aino hut at all times of day and year, and which, apart from the different odors and insects, makes a sojourn within very unpleasant. The women, also, among whom there was not a pretty face, far less a beautiful one, had put on their best, including necklaces and strings of beads. Some had silk dresses and one had a velvet head-cloth, with which the hair was bound over the forehead. The entire company, consisting of about thirty persons, was already assembled. After looking about, meeting the principal personages, and visiting the caged bear, we entered the hut, where the feast began with a solemn offering of saké.

The house was cleaner and more orderly than any I have seen in the vicinity. The household treasures, principally old swords, sacred objects, ornaments, and drinking cups, were displayed along the north side. In the northeast corner, which is sacred to the house god, new inao were stuck upon the wall.

The inao are sticks three-quarters of a metre in length, with spiral shavings attached (Fig. 86).

The kind of wood of which these are made differs in different localities. In the country from Mori to Oshamambe a kind of cornelian

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778 cherry is used (*Cornus brachypoda*, Jap. *mizu no ki*), while on the opposite side of Volcano Bay, at Mombetsu, and on the east coast of Mukawa and south, the willow* is used. These sticks or inao have the same meaning as the *gohelit* of the shinto temples of the Japanese.

Shavings of the same wood are attached to all sorts of objects, especially to such as are used on festive occasions. Inao were placed on the four corners of the bear cage. In the fire-place, in the middle of the hut, an inao was set up. Around the fire-place mats were spread, on which the company was seated. The host first made an offering of saké to the fire god, in which he was followed by the guests. Then another offering was made to the house god before the corner sacred to this god.

During the ceremony the Ainu, seated on the mats, first raise the drinking cup with the left hand to the forehead, while the right hand is somewhat raised with the palm upward. Then the moustache-stick, which has thus far rested across the top of the drinking cup (Fig. 77), is dipped into the saké and a few drops thrown into the fire, the stick being moved several times back and forth above the cup. At the same time a prayer is murmured. This ended, the saké is drunk in large draughts, while the moustache is held up with the stick. This ceremony not only takes place on festive occasions, but is carried out whenever saké is drunk. While the gods were receiving their offerings and the drinking vessels passed from hand to hand, many greetings were exchanged, and I was again made welcome by a long speech from the host.

Meanwhile the woman who had reared the bear was sitting at one side, very sad, at times in tears. Her sorrow was certainly not pretended. She also presented a drink offering, and two other old women did the same. The drinking ceremony of the women is much simpler than that of the men. They merely raise the wine cup once before drinking and pass the forefinger across the face, under the nose.

782 After the close of the ceremony in the house, offerings were made before the bear cage by the host and others. The bear also received several drops of sake in a shell, which he immediately turned over. Then began a dance of the women and young maidens before the cage (Pl. CXIV), which continued a long time, with short interruptions. With faces turned toward the cage, and slightly bent knees, rising on the toes and hopping up, they moved in a circle around the cage, clapping the hands and chanting a low, monotonous song of a few words oft repeated. The hostess and a couple of old women,—who may have reared many bears,—danced, with tears, and tenderly caressed the bear; but the young people laughed and sang. Bruin gradually became aroused by

* I found the willow in almost universal use for inao throughout the greater part of the island.—R. H.

782 The author is in error here. The gohei do not represent the gods. They are simply offerings, originally offerings of cloth, now represented by strips of cut paper. The inao seem to represent the god. There is no reason to suppose they are in any way related to the Japanese symbols.—R. H.

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

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drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.

In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the houses. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.



FIG. 88.

THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an exhaustive account of these people.

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

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- Carrying bag*.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of obiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1883. 150684
- Wooden disk*.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2½ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685
- Wooden bowl*.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686
- Leath mitts*.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688
- Ceremonial head dress*.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 67.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1894. 150687
- Apron*.—Made of obiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689
- Inao*.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 68.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690
- Inao*.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691
- Inao*.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692
- Broiling sticks*.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693
- Tobacco box and stick*.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694
- Moustache sticks*.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Ainu designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1894. 150695
- Parts of an Aino loom*.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving obiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1894. 150700
- Shell for lamp*.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701
- Tobacco box and stick*.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702
- Tobacco box and stick*.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1898. 150703
- Red lacquer cap*.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704
- Large knife and case*.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1898. 150705
- Bead necklaces and copper ornament*.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms



TROPHY OF BEARS' SKULLS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments.

I CANNOT begin this chapter better than by saying that Ainu 771 religious ideas are essentially chaotic. They recognise no supreme God, and no intelligent Creator; and they cannot be [m6] called polytheists, for indeed they are not *worshippers* of any power—taking the word in its full meaning. The Ainu worship nothing.

If they have any belief at all it is an imperfect kind of 771 Totemism, and the central point of that belief is their own 805 descent from the "bear." This does not include the smallest 527 reverence for their ancestor. They capture their "Totem" and keep it in captivity; they speak to it and feed it; but no prayers are offered to it. When the bear is fat, it is taken out of the cage to be ill-treated and baited by all the men present. It is tied to a stake and a pole is thrust into its mouth; and

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192 "the home of God," in its real signification is "an ancient village ; a beautiful place." When *Kamni* is applied to persons, it is generally a suffix ; when to things, it is a prefix.

778 But let us come to the *inao*, which by some have been called the "Ainu gods," by others "Divine symbols." These *inao* are willow-wands, with shavings depending from the upper end, sometimes from the middle, and occasionally from near the lower end as well.

The larger wands are about four feet in length, and have either one or two bunches of shavings at the upper end only. They go by the name of *inao netuba*, or "big *inao*." Other smaller *inao*, like the *Chisei-kara-inao*,¹ are kept in the house, and stuck in the eastern corner of the hearth, and in the wall directly opposite the entrance door. Some of the *inao* are shaved upwards from the bottom, others downwards from the top ; and one, a big *inao*, is often thrust through the small window facing the east. Sometimes they are placed about singly, especially inside the huts ; but outside, close to the eastern wall, I have often seen eight or ten standing together in a row. When so taken collectively they are called *nusa*. On Volcano Bay, up the Saru River, and on the Lake Kut-charo, where it is the custom of the Ainu to make trophies of the skulls of bears and deer which have been killed in the hunt, one or two *inao* are placed at the foot of the trophy. Sometimes, but very rarely, a whole *nusa* is to be seen in front of a trophy ; but in most cases the *nusa* I saw were near huts that had no trophy at all, and, as I say, only very seldom were they in front of the trophy itself, unless a bear feast was going on. I am therefore under the impression that these *nusa* are only put up when some festival takes place, and that they are not kept there permanently. I remember that at Piratori there were no *inao* and no *nusa* outside Benry's house, but on the day that the festival took place one was put up, and several *inao* were placed inside the hut, in the hearth and on the north wall. Likewise, a *nusa* was put up on the same day at the east end of the hut in which the feast was given, and the inside was also adorned with *inao* of various sizes and descriptions. Each *inao* is pointed at the lower end, so as to be easily stuck in the ground. The *inao* of all

¹ *Chisei*, house, dwelling, hut ; *kara*, make ; also, have.

sizes and shapes impressed me as being mostly for ornament. Then some are held as charms against misfortune and disease; but they never impressed me as being offerings to the gods. *Inao* are placed near springs, so that the good water may not turn into pestilential, and occasionally *inao* of a peculiar shape are hung in the doorway of newly-built huts. They are made of a number of small willow sticks tied together, from which hang five or six bunches of shavings; they are hung horizontally, and not in a vertical position, like the other *inao*. They are very uncommon, and only used on certain specified occasions. For example, when a child is born an *inao*, in the shape of a doll, is made of a bunch of reeds folded double and tied with a string about an inch from the bend, which thus forms the head; it is then tied lower down to indicate the waist. By dividing the reeds into two equal portions they produce a pair of legs, and a stick is then passed through the reeds between the head and the waist to form the arms. When this doll is made it is placed near the infant, so that should any disease or misfortune, in the shape of a kind of evil spirit, be tempted to enter the child's body, it may be averted, and enter the doll instead. Should a person fall ill new *inao* are stuck in the hearth, as the Ainu share our own idea that evil spirits dwell mostly in fire; others are placed near the sick person. They are not meant as offerings to the gods for his or her quick recovery, but merely to bring good luck to the individual whose body they think has been taken possession of by "animals inside," or, in other words, evil spirits.

Even at the present day in England and on the Continent horseshoes for luck are hung over entrance doors, and if a horseshoe be fastened on to a stable-door, the beasts within are supposed to be held free from accidents and illness.

In Spain and Italy little red rags tied to a small wand, not dissimilar in shape to a small Ainu *inao*, are stuck in flower-pots near windows, over beds, doors, and up chimneys, to keep witches at bay, red being a powerful exorcist in the way of colours, and as good as the "running stream which witches dare not cross." Some hysterical women have declared that they have seen witches hiding in the smoke of the boiling *Pentola* (the earthenware pot in which the soup is boiled)—but that on seeing the red rags they vanished, and never

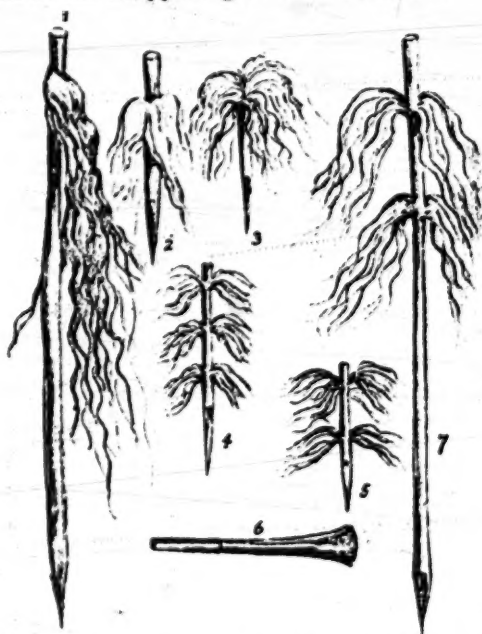
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visited the house again. Italian and Spanish women and children almost invariably carry charms round their necks, that are to keep them safe from harm; and, furthermore, when a child falls ill, one or more red rags are fastened to its bed before a doctor is sent for. Then, again, people suffering from epileptic fits have often been supposed to be "possessed," and beaten to death or burnt alive, so that the evil spirit which was in them should thus be destroyed. It must be borne in mind that not many centuries ago similar beliefs were prevalent even in free and enlightened England.

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If we compare these beliefs with those of the Ainu, we find that they differ very little either in form or substance. In place of the witches which our own ancestors, modern Italians, and Spaniards, and some benighted peasantry still to be found in the West of England, believed, and do still believe in, the Ainu have imaginary animals or evil spirits. The wands and red rags of our Latin neighbours are represented by their *inao*; and our lucky horseshoe is with them the horizontal *inao*. Charms are worn by the Ainu men, women, and children; and when going to war or to hunt the men carry a block of wood to which their knife or sword is attached, and on the right-hand side of which hangs a small *inao*.

These blocks of wood are flattened, and are elliptical at both ends. Their length varies from four to fifteen inches, and sometimes ornaments—generally circles—are carved on them. A string is fastened on one side so as to sling them to the shoulder; but they are usually carried under the arm. They are supposed to protect the carrier from accidents, and also to bring him good fortune.

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We see, then, that similar ideas are entertained by utterly different peoples thousands of miles distant from one another; and that certain superstitious beliefs left on this side of the globe find their parallel among the hairy people on the other. Of course with them it is natural that their beliefs should count for more than with Europeans, as civilisation has not in any way enlarged or improved their minds; but it seems to me unfair that the same identical beliefs should go under the name of *superstitions* when applied to Europeans, and called the "Ainu religion" when practised by the hairy inhabitants of Northern Japan. Though to this I know it may be replied

858 seldom see them wilfully ill-treating them ; but according to civilised notions Ainu women make shockingly bad mothers. They love, but they do not look after, nor practically take care of, their little ones after these are about a year and a half old ; and as to washing them, combing their hair, educating them, or trying to cure them of the thousand and one [164] wretched skin diseases, which come chiefly by their own neglect, an Ainu mother puts her hand to these things no more than the men put theirs to the building of a temple or the creation of a literature. This neglect is not with them, as it would be with us, an intolerable crime, but is the natural result of their animal instinct as contradistinguished from rational development. For if a baby is not old enough at one and a half years of age to take care of himself, he is of no good as an Ainu. It is needless to add that, in these circumstances, most of them are of no good, and that the percentage [165] of infantile deaths is appalling to a civilised mind.



1, 7. INAO-NETUBA. 2, 3, 4, 5. CHISEI-KARA-INAQ.
6. A PESTLE OR POUNDER.

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

BY LEO STERNBERG,

ST. PETERSBURG.

121 THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

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[77] 1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, [82] and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for [773] example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revived, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

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776 With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

- 798 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
 799 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a *kamui*,
 796 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
 [554] thing,—bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all *kamui*
 are objects of worship.

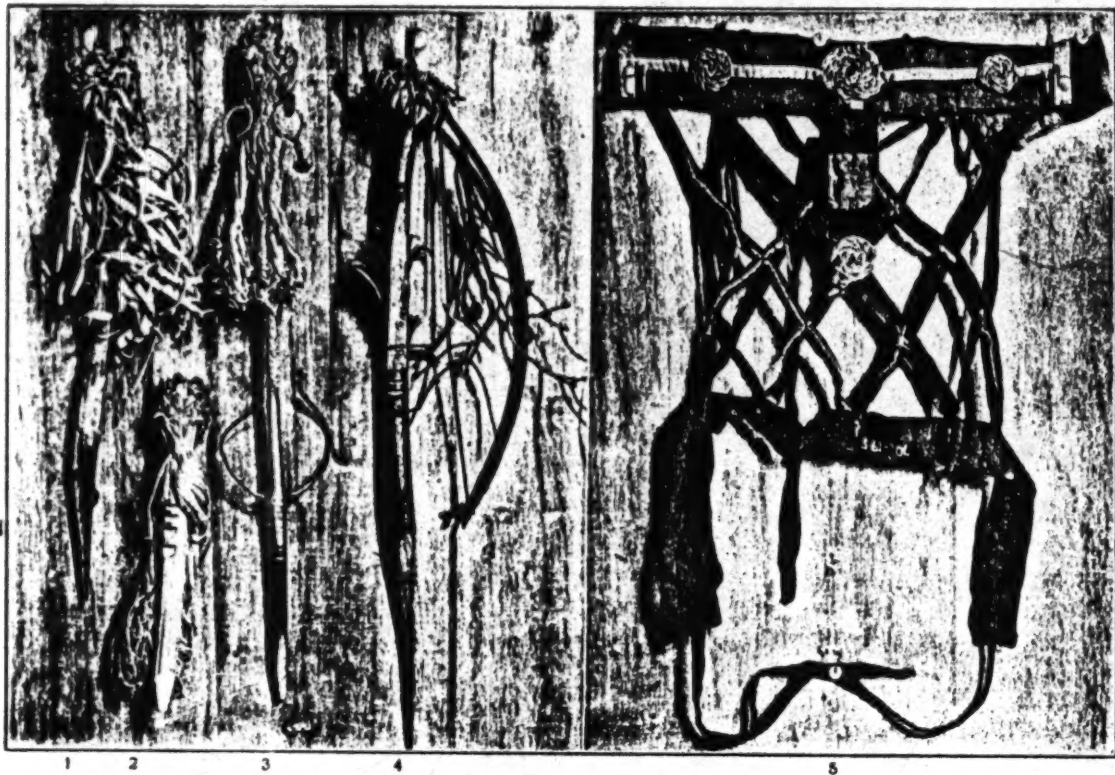
825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively zoölogical. There
 776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones,—like the bear, the
 782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
 171 otter, etc.,—which he does not honor with the name "*kamui*."
 Beast and *kamui* are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak,
 Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate
 between a mere beast and a god-beast,—that is, a god-man
 who has assumed the shape of this or that beast,—the Ainu,
 in addition, see a *kamui* in each beast as such. But, like the
 Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of
 offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "*mas-*
ters"; of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are
 called *kamui* (in the sense of "*master*"), with the appellation
 of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-*
kamui ("*master of the mountain*"), *atui-kamui* ("*master of*
the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("*master of the subterranean world*"),
chup-kamui ("*master of the sun*"), etc.

796 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends
 are the "*masters*" of the mountain and sea, who supply them
 with the main objects of subsistence,—beasts, fish, sea-animals.
 These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "*master*"
 of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a
 real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his
 fellow-tribesmen.

The "*master*" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The
 cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described
 in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.²

² Here and throughout this article the words "*master*" and "*mistress*" are
 used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khovain*
 (literally, "*proprietor of a house*"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed pro-
 prietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do,
 respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are
kamui ("*masters*"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

³ See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.



INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau without notches, for the ancestors; 2, Inau with four notches, for the master of the mountains and forests; 3, Inau with three notches and ear-rings, for the master of the sun and the mistress of the hearth; 4, Curative inau with three notches, attached to a bow amulet; 5, Curative apron with glued shavings applied in the shape of magic coils and strings.

[Facing p. 429]

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh
 177 the most important part,—more in word, however, than in
 fact,—seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*),
 who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest
 deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity
 has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally
 closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays
 a really great part.

776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, sec-
 ondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the
 "master" of the hut—*yurta*—(*tisse-kamui*), the grand-
 mother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors;
 finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves,
 valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent
 kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his
 nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is con-
 stantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and
 even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not
 even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult what-
 ever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple
 piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.

776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the
 756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar
 782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, how-
 ever, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent
 deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent
 prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands
 and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever

• [778] possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which
 are known among them under the name "inau."

778 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destina-
 322 tions. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at
 various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate
 XXXIV, Figs. 1-4). The usual material is willow-wood; less
 [824] frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the
 end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark,
 and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

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INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau on the top of the tree to which the bear is bound at the bear festival; 2, Inau for the bear's head; 3, Curative inau attached to the wooden figure of a cuckoo; 4, Figure of a bear bound with strings; 5, Curative inau in the form of a necklace; 6, Inau in the form of an ear-protector for the bear.

[Facing p. 428]

- 778 is left on, with the exception of the middle portion in front
322 (Fig. 1). The mechanical devices of the work are most primitive.
[412] The tool is an ordinary short knife with blade somewhat curved, which the worker draws quickly towards himself along the piece of wood, holding one end of it with his hand, and pressing the other to his chest.

778 A slight examination of an *inau-stick* will show that it exhibits a primitive representation of a *human figure*. Its upper part is always made in the shape of a little head. The middle part commonly contains *notches*, always arranged in a certain order and definite number, according to the shape and designation of the *inau*: thus, in Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3, 4, there are three notches, one a little above the middle planed part, the other two always below it; in Fig. 2 there are four notches in succession; on others there are seven, and even more. On some sticks there are left on both sides, symmetrically situated, knots in the shape of arms, which are most frequently curved into a circle, — the *fire-inau*, the *sun-inau* (Fig. 3). Indeed, the Ainu themselves distinguish in the *inau* parts of a body, — the head, crown, neck, hair, brows, eyes, mouth, lips (or mouth-alone), navel, and sexual organs (the last six, all in the form of notches), and, finally, hands and feet (the lower part).

On some, the so-called *nin'kari inau* (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3), are found even ear-rings (*nin'kari*) of shavings. This denotes a female form. On Plate XXXV, Fig. 1, may be seen two figures on one knot, — one, a female, with ear-rings; the other, a male, without them.

But the *inau-stick* is only one form of *inau*. All external *inau* — the so-called *soyta-inau*; that is, placed outside of the house — are usually in the form of tall poles, or even whole trees, sometimes stripped of their bark, and again with the bark on, but with notches, and always cut to shavings, or bound with shavings. These often present very complicated figures. For example, the *chup-kamui inau*, the *inau* to the "master" of the sun, represents a complete little fir-tree in its bark, with arms curved into a circle (symbol of the sun) in the middle, with the three ordinary notches (mouth, navel, and sexual organs) in the middle section, two pairs of oblique incisions on both

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU

429

- 778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided
tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which
represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

- 778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa*; and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

- 779 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau*, and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

- 778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau*, inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau*, inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

778 fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is
 779 an *apa syat un inau*; over the bedstead are suspended here and
 780 there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern
 side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in
 front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy
 prayers. And further, wherever one turns,—on mountain,
 on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-
 summits, in cemeteries,—everywhere, large inau, of most
 varied forms—to the “master” of the mountain (Plate XXXIV,
 Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter,
 bear, seal, etc.—are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau*, which are regularly set up at
 a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year,
 and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones
 are carefully stored up in special sheds.

778 But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that
 779 particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt,
 [224] inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the
 heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV,
 Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers,
 if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A
 systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be
 said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the
 Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end
 of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science
 is attained.

771 This odd cult¹ has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring
 771 people of the Amur region,—the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold,
 and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found
 nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,¹
 an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but
 with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

778 3. Two questions are to be cleared up,—What is the pur-
 114 pose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquir-
 ers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for
 several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

¹ A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

in them "mere offerings," and again "genuine fetiches."¹ 798
 Mrs. BIRD, who has travelled among the Ainu, considers the 114
 inau to be domestic deities.

An entirely peculiar opinion is held by the Russian observer, Dr. M. M. DOBROTVORSKI, who lived among the Ainu on Saghalin in the seventies, and wrote a dictionary of the Ainu language. He maintains that the inau are but effigies, *substitutes for human sacrifices*, which, according to the Ainu themselves, were once performed, and are even now in use among some of their tribesmen.² [782] [532]

This hypothesis contradicts the facts. In the first place, it must be pointed out that on a whole line of inau—as, for example, on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1—there are no notches at all. 798
 Further, a whole line of inau consists of shavings alone, without 532
 a suggestion of human figures. On many which have notches, 114
 as on Fig. 2, these notches, as stated by the Ainu, denote parts of the face,—the eyebrows, eyes, mouth, and nose. But even in the case of such figures as those seen on Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3 and 4, where the middle portion stripped of bark might be interpreted as the abdomen, the notches happen to be just above and below that part, and cannot, at any rate, represent the cutting-open of the belly. In reality, on these figures, the upper notch denotes the mouth; the two lower, the navel and sexual organs. On some inau the middle, planed part is even pointed out by the Ainu as the face. Thus Dobrotvorski's hypothesis falls *per se*.

¹ [This was formerly the opinion of Batchelor, which, however, he has given up and partly revised in his new book *The Ainu and Their Folklore* (London, 1901, pp. 96 et seq., pp. 110 et seq.); compare also the critical remarks on the subject by Cl. E. MARTRE (*Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. II, p. 216; Vol. III, p. 126). Batchelor is now also of the same opinion as the author of this paper, that there are inau acting as "mediators or messengers, whose spirits pass between men and the various deities." The fact that these two authors were independently led to this result seems to me a very remarkable coincidence; but there can be no doubt that Dr. Sternberg went far beyond Batchelor in the elucidation of the question.—EDITOR.]

² *Aino-Russian Dictionary*. Supplement, p. 65; also Introduction, p. 42. Kasan, 1875.

● 778 More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,¹
 174 who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei*, sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

778 However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may
 114 seem, — the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat re-
 174 semble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"² identical with the Ainu
 [92] name for a group of inau,³ — yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to paper; or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa, — that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns, — which would be the more
 [286] natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

¹ The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inau (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

² In reality, the Ainu have their own synonymes for "nusa," *inau-chipa*; and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui*. Compare this word in BATCHLOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

³ See p. 429.

Of greater interest are the considerations of the same author, quoting two Japanese writers of the beginning and end of the eighteenth century, that, among the ceremonial objects of the Shinto cult, there had been the so-called *kedzuri-kake* (half-shaved little sticks). An extant representation of such a stick resembles the inau very closely indeed; but this fact argues rather against the gohei-inau hypothesis, and for the following reasons. As stated by the author himself, the said *kedzuri-kake* were lighted at the sacred fire of the temple, and carried home by the Shintoists to kindle the New-Year's fire on the hearth. This ceremonial, no doubt, must be very old; and for such a purpose, the kindling of fire, the ancient nusa of fabrics and yarn would be utterly good for nothing. If such is the case, the little half-shaved sticks of the Shinto cult must be of primary origin, and then they have nothing in common with the gohei; and there is more reason to credit their invention to the Ainu than to the Japanese, as among the former the cult of "shaved" sticks has received the widest development, while in the case of Shintoism we know of but one or two isolated cases. 778 114 174

I have now only to give my personal considerations and observations on the meaning of inau and their origin. 778 124

4. First of all, it was important for me to ascertain clearly how the Ainu themselves look upon their inau. This I endeavored to do in all possible ways during my travels among the Saghalin Ainu; and, to be just, they formulated their ideas on the subject with a clearness and definiteness that left nothing to be desired. Among the Saghalin Ainu, in the early nineties, the greatest authority was vested in a certain man called Ni-sendus, the venerable aged chief of the village Mauko. He [15] was, forsooth, a very venerable and sensible old man, a veritable patriarch, of whom his fellow tribesmen used to say that he was "just as good" as a kamui (god). I wished to verify my former inquiries and observations, and, while at his village, I visited him. He was just installing a new *unti-kamui inau* on his fireplace. "Explain to me," said I, "why you make these inau. What are they?"—"This," said the old man, "is an *ikoy-itaku ainu* ('mediator, envoy, orator'). The

778 The Ainu tells this deity his wants, and he will convey them to the
 124 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
 779 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
 776 all of them help the Ainu."—"And how can a little stick
 talk?"—"It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells
 all to the kamui. Why, even a tree—that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
 774 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu,
 and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau* is not a deity,
 nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,
 —a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of con-
 veying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to
 the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
 776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
 782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mys-
 terious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true,
 as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu
 pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the
 eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift
 up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are ad-
 dressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before
 the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them,
 various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are
 hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather
 their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*,
 denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, val-
 uables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau.
 And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men,
 but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
 182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
 789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satis-
 fied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru*, "a
 man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[463] 'Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to
 [554] individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in
 affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?"

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed *tree-tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls.

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau "*ikoytaku ainu*" ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi*

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[193] ("sacrifice"), — and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's tongue."

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171 Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, *inau* are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

[532] In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the *inau*, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence *inau* began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

[782]
[771]

778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[171] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to
serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
765 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.

789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to
be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing
their application, was cast away. This mode of healing
created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in
which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse
plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other
amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs
of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs.
3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings
receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles

[532] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another
step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

[291]
[301] It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
796 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
825 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
291 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
321 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads
89 of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea,
are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest
shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex
of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited
of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu.

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940; 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem.

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pas-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group.

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent.

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor-

and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.⁵ Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known, but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship (shinnurappa)*. Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt*. Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills*. Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

71 Munro and Seligman

Ainu AB6

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/Information on the "sacred" women's girdles will be found in categories 292 and 789./

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

771 *inau* is called *nusa*, a word which will occur frequently in this
192 work.

771 *Ramat* (literally, heart) is a word that cannot be translated, and
774 stands for a concept not easy to describe. The nearest English
192 equivalents are soul or spirit. I will quote the explanations given
me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*). Kotan-
Pira said *ramat* was the backbone of Ainu religion. Rennuikesh,
eighty years old, very active and intelligent, who came from the
north of Hokkaido, said: 'Whatever has no *ramat* has nothing'.
Nisukrek and other elders agreed with this: '*Ramat* is all-pervading
and indestructible'. Uesanash said: '*Ramat* is everywhere'. It varies
vastly in amount and concentration; for example, as one elder put
it, *ramat* in the seed of a plant is not like that in a man. It is liable
to shift from one place to another but is never diminished through-
out all changes of position. I find no better all-round description
than in the lines of Wordsworth:

A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.

When objects are burnt or broken, *ramat* vacates them. When
living things—men, animals, trees or plants—die, *ramat* leaves
them and goes elsewhere, but does not perish. On this account
weapons and utensils buried with the dead are often broken so
that their *ramat* may accompany the deceased.

Ainu religion in general perspective presents every phase of
animistic belief. Pervasion of everything by *ramat* provides reason
for faith in amulets. The skulls of certain animals stuffed with
sacred curled shavings (*inau-kike*) serve to retain concentrated *ramat*.

Of similar meaning to *ramat* is *motu*, translated by Batchelor as
'life'. This word is known to few elders, but is often met with in
the ancient songs known in the Hokkaido as *yukara*. Like *ramat*,
this word, as used in the songs, implies life extended to inanimate
things which, being broken, also 'die'. It was more often applied,
however, to persons. None of my informants has identified life or
spirit with breath, nor have they the conviction that there is a
connection between the life of a person and his shadow. They
recognize, of course, that arrest of breathing is proof of death, but
maintain that when a person is asleep, in a faint, or unconscious
from any cause, *ramat* leaves the body and may not return. In

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

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776 a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been

821 connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window

[342] is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate

with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme

over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to

[533] cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed

down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the

arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north

an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outlineof its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as[778] is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the

sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still

salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered

necessary.

[825] There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at

the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or

star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the

spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am

told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few

names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River

Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'.

Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas

of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and some-

times of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north

or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising

some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly

bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things'

(*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they

lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the

Ancestral Host.

[779] I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward

happening from above, such as a landslip or heavy fall of volcanic

ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought

to make it cease.

771 A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must

776 be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that

oina refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a

teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding

that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted

as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

THE KAMUI

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress¹ and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

¹ *Ehashi, Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ehashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit of vegetation.

[372] As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

[774] Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui* have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them. That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all. The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui¹ is really an epithet, as are nearly all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names, which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*, are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village raising) Kamui.

[552] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[14] ¹ According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.¹ As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism. 776 825

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi. 776 782

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder. 776 825 774 787

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*murukuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake. 776 782 782 842

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in 776 782

¹ In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S. 776 782 552

THE KAMUI

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
 782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
 • 778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba
 Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the
 chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the
 hash [bush] inau'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity
 1776 based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
 [1773] range Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
 [372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some
 protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a
 relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the
 prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
 [842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
 [787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions
 with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
 [782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
 [778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to
 the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made
 here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river)
 Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
 [782] regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
 same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with
 [769] ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
 [778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which
 appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
 [844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All
 the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or
 823 representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control
 the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of
 the river. Also esteemed are Chu-oro Guru (where the river flows
 deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-
 rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest
 depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-
 koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth).
 Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual,
 and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

776 We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
 [782]

By 10050

THE KAMUI

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ame-tanne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in curled shavings (*inau hiki*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shiratchi kamui*¹ and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shiratchi kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

For *shiratchi kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shiratchi kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *abe-rui chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

¹ In the Soru Basin, which was Munro's main field, *Shiratchi Kamui* is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called *Chirenap Kamui* or *Shiturnbe Kamui*.—H.W.

THE KAMUI

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is the snipe, which is regarded as a specialist in ear complaints, and the head of a turtle, though this is not easy to obtain.

Shirathi kamui may be seen by anyone, but there is a class of similar objects which would lose their virtue if seen by other than the elder or his grown-up eldest son if the latter be worthy. They are called *chikoshinninup* or *akoshinninup*. Most valued for this purpose were the skulls of the white fox and the ermine, the former now never, and the latter rarely, seen in Hokkaido. The skin is not removed from the head, which is folded over it. The living ermine is spoken of in old legends as the chief animal helper of man, enabling him to get food and children and warning him against enemies and hostile spirits.

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Other treasured objects were stones admired for their beauty or some other reason. So long as no one else knew of them they could be gloated over in secret, yielding assurance of protection and success.

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Invisible spirit helpers, operating without embodiment of any kind, go under various names but their functions are similar. *Kashikamui* and *seremak* are believed to bestow health and good luck generally. *Kasanip*, believed to hover round the top and back of the head, functions somewhat similarly to spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a common belief that a man has a female and a woman a male *kasanip*.¹ Some elders think that *kasanip* are not entirely reliable, and the same applies to *osoyunbe*, who may be helpful or harmful.

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Several elders have assured me that at death the good *turenbe* accompanies the soul to the ancestral land, while the bad returns to its source, but this seems to be a matter of opinion.

Among occasional helpers are the water nymphs (*mintuchi*). They are unreliable and occasionally dangerous, but are sometimes amenable to orders from *pase kamui*, transmitted through elders and backed by suitable rewards. There are also spirits of trees which, as agents of Shiramba Kamui, are besought for the cure of disease.

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It is said that some elders were able in moments of peril to summon spirits not quite so innocent, using what is called *upash-kuma itak*, talk from traditional lore. This had the force of a spell, and though it is denied that it was the same as the 'little talk' of

¹ Cf. the theory of the Anima and Animus, Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Part II, Chapter II, 1928.—B.Z.S.

III

THE INAU

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● 778 **R**AMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

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778 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *hamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

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782 *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

THE INAU

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the neolithic Ainu.

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor).

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.¹

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.² An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during funeral rites.

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

¹ These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W.

² *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered to the deities, and *Shimurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W.

THE INAU

- 782 which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed
 ● 778 banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quan-
 [184] tities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and
 elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently
 the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are
 anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue
 of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of these embody spirits which
 specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise some-
 what wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house pos-
 sessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered
 as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

- 824 About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for
 778 good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and
 782 foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special
 purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute,
 such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.¹
 [826] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as
 the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may
 be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most
 sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree
 of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones
 for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the stems, known as wings (*rap*),

¹ *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:

- (a) Willow (*susu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.
- (b) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.
- (c) Dogwood (*utuka-mi*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.
- (d) *Push-ni*.
- (e) *Ophe-ni*.
- (f) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shiherebe-ni*), is valued for a particular purpose.
- (g) Two kinds of oak (*tun-mi*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.
- (h) An ash tree (*pinmi*), though not much used for *inau*. For *wen inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*), and bird-cherry (*kiki-ni*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-mi*) and elder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*takusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yaimi*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalapanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

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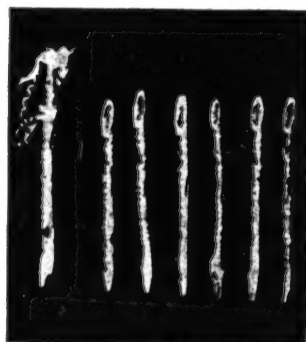


Fig. 1. Shutsu inau.

Fig. 2. Shirikara inau.

Fig. 3. Imemba inau, the beer-straining inau.

Fig. 4. Group of men inau with their leader.

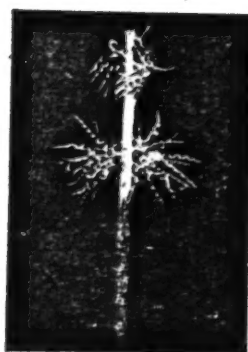


Fig. 5. Ordinary backward shaven inau (*chihoro-kakep*).

Figs. 6 and 7. Backward shaven inau for Kinashut Kamui.

Fig. 8. Inau from Japan.

PLATE II. INAU.

[p. 30-(8)]

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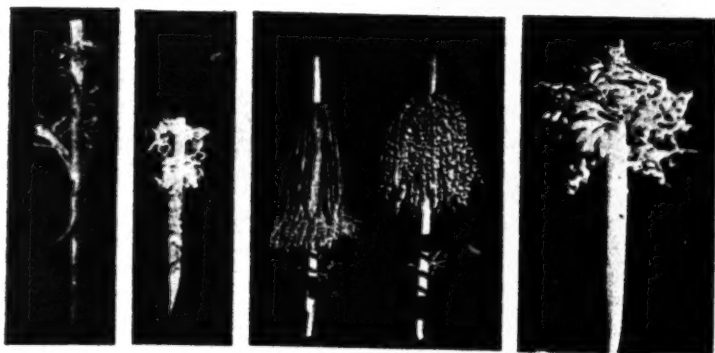


Fig. 1. *Shian shuta inau*.
Fig. 2. *Shuta inau* for Kinashut Kamui, made of walnut.
Fig. 3. Twisted shaven inau (*kike chinye*).
Fig. 4. Outspread shaven inau (*kike parase*).
Fig. 5. *Inau* for Abe ochi Ekashi.

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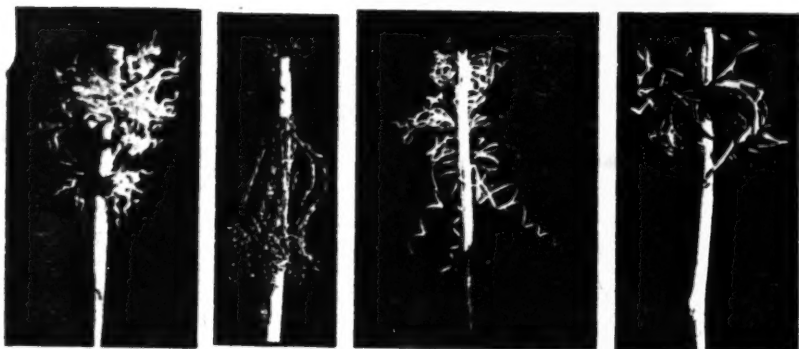
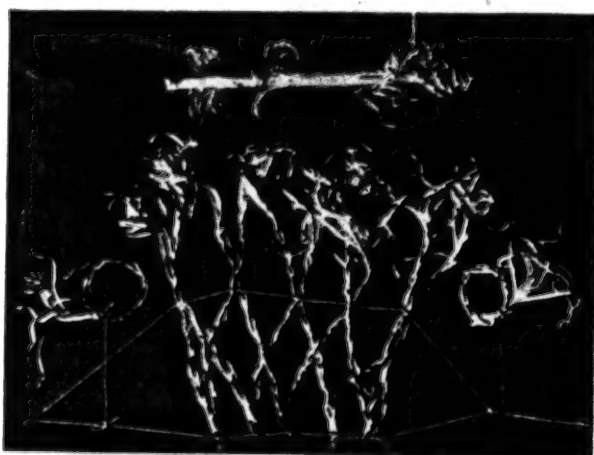
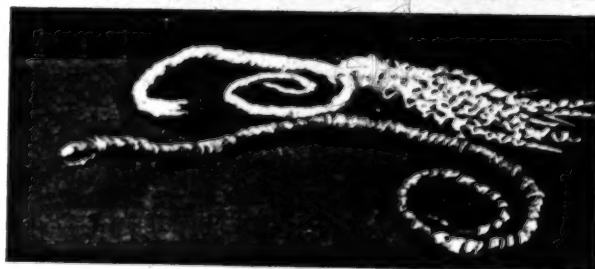


Fig. 6. *Inau* for Abe ochi Fuchi.
Fig. 7. *Inau* for Kinashut Kamui, to help in difficult childbirth, seen in the north.
Fig. 8. *Chikappa shian inau*.
Fig. 9. *Ekashi inau*.

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● 778
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Fig. 1. Coat and earrings for the young bear at its festival, and above, *ak-meme-in* to thrust behind the windpipe during skinning.

Fig. 2. Images (*moka*) of snakes: that made of curled shavings used in exorcism; the other, made of grass, used for protection against illness.

Fig. 3. Head of a turtle blackened with age, with fresh shavings attached as a protection against misfortune.

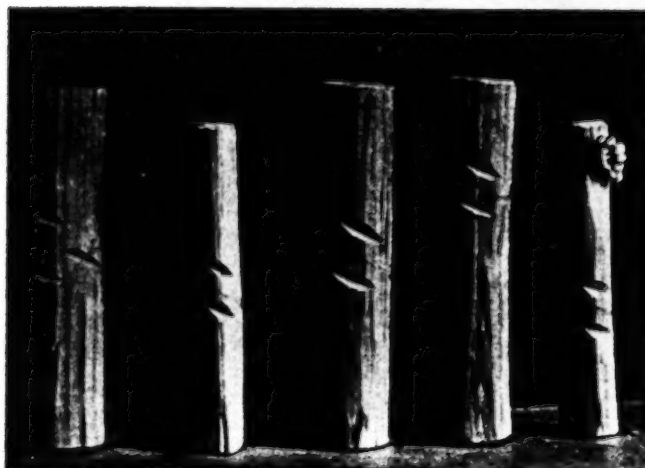
PLATE IV. CURLED SHAVINGS.

[p. 30, (w)]



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1. 2. 3. 4. 5.



6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

Fig. 5. Chup Kamui (sun deity). Fig. 4. Kanna Kamui (thunder deity). Fig. 3. Shiri-koro Kamui. Fig. 2. Chep-atte Kamui (plenteous fish). Fig. 1. Yuk-atte Kamui (plenteous deer). Fig. 10. Ainu Sachiri Kamui (the spotted kingfisher). Fig. 9. Wakka-ush Kamui (water deity). Fig. 8. A-e-oina Kamui. Fig. 7. Abera-ra-Shut Kamui (ancestral kamui beneath the hearth). Fig. 6. Moshiri-kara Kamui. Fig. 11. Methods of tying the shavings on *masu* according to ancestral cult.

PLATE V ITOKPA.

[p. 30, (E)]

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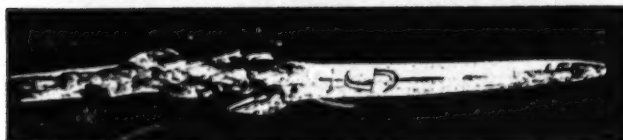
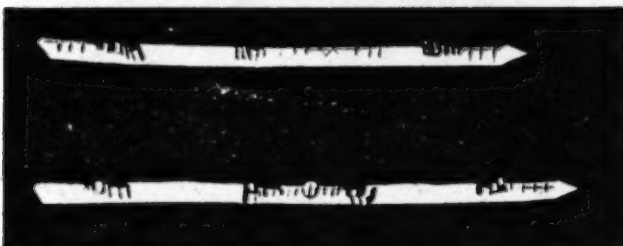
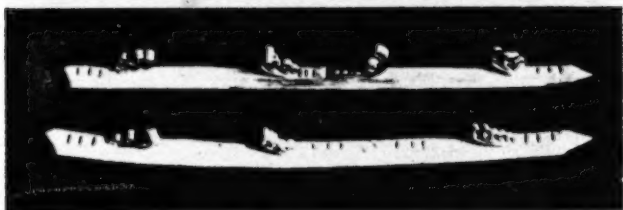
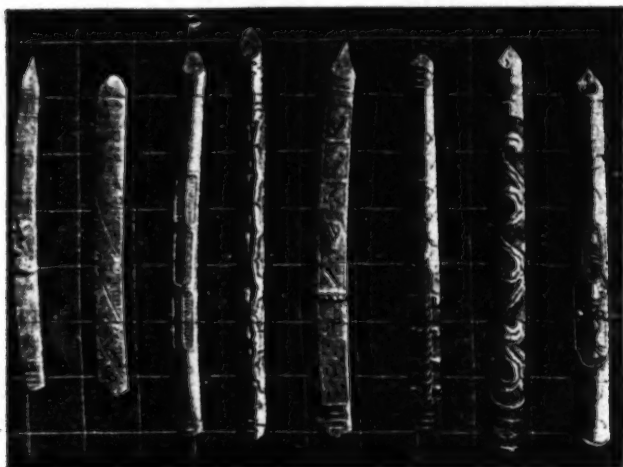
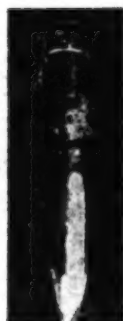


Fig. 1. Decorated iku-bashui in ordinary use.
 Fig. 2. *Kike-ush-bashui*, used in *kamui iomande* ceremonies.
 Fig. 3. Ditto, but turned to show ancestral marking (*ekashi itakpa*).
 Fig. 4. *Iku-bashui* for Rep-un Kamui, showing his *itakpa*.

PLATE VI. PRAYER STICKS
 OR LIBATION WANDS (IKU-BASHUI).

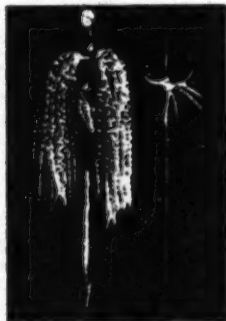
[p. 30, (F)]



1.

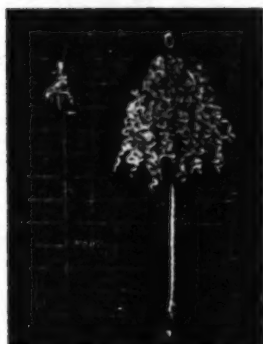


2.



3.

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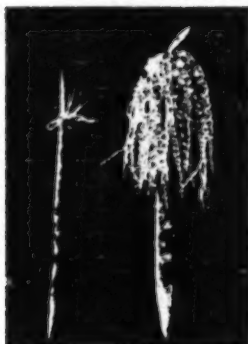
4.



5.

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[796]

[844]



6.



7.

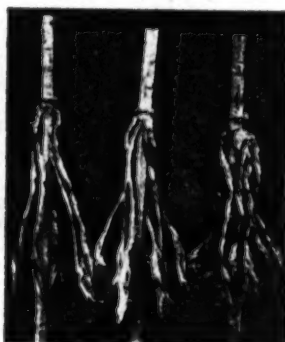
Fig. 1. The body of Chisei-koro Kamui. The heart is tied on with shavings; the flattened side of the body represents the abdomen. Fig. 2. Chisei-koro Kamui, fully dressed, with his spear. Fig. 3. Shutu inau Kamui for three brothers who protect vigour and welfare. Fig. 4. Chikube-ni Kamui with spear, protector of the young bear until the time of its ritual dismissal. Fig. 5. Soko-ni Fuchi with spear, for help in difficult childbirth. Fig. 6. Ai-ush-ni Kamui. Fig. 7. Imosh Kamui, made by Ucsanash Ekashi.

PLATE VII. EFFIGIES.

[p. 30, (6)]



1. 2. 3.



4. 5. 6.



7. 8.



9.

Fig. 1. Iresu Fuchi (Usawara Fuchi). Fig. 2. Kanna Kamui, the sky deity. Fig. 3. Kotan-koro Kamui, eagle-owl. Fig. 4. Chiwash-koro Kamui. Fig. 5. Chup Kamui, the sun deity. Fig. 6. Rep-un Kamui, grampus. Fig. 7. Abe ochi Ekashi *Inau*: the male fire god in the north. Fig. 8. Iworu-koro Ekashi, the ancestor possessing the mountains. Used in the north. Fig. 9. *Inau* given to Kinashut Kamui to aid difficult childbirth.

All show *itokpa* markings and are made in the north.

PLATE IX. *ITOKPA* ON STEMS OF *INAU* OFFERED TO THE ABOVE *KAMUI*.

[p. 30, (I)]

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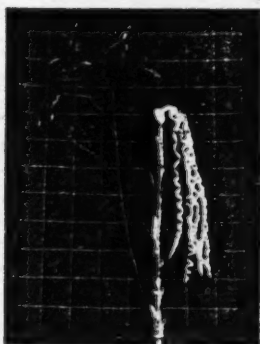


Fig. 1. *Inau* of walnut given to Kinashut Kamui as a reward for help given.

Fig. 2. *Inau* of elder given to Kinashut Kamui for expelling evil spirits.

Fig. 3. *Inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui offered by hunters in the south and by fishermen in the north.

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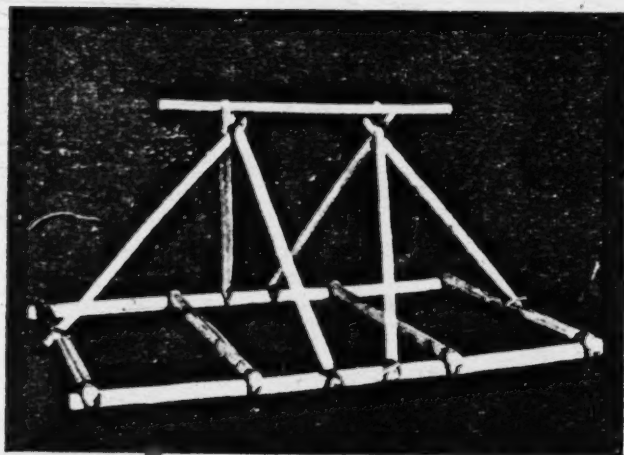


Fig. 4. Model of Ketun-ni.

PLATE X. *IVU*, AND MODEL OF ROOF STRUCTURE.

[p. 30. (J)]



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Fig. 1. Chupusu inau fixed to the top of the post (*tuok ni*). In the bear ceremony, when the flesh is cut up, it is dipped in the blood of the bear and again attached to the post.
Fig. 2. The head of the bear in the centre of the *nusa* of many inau set up for the bear ceremony. Fig. 3. The Chupusu and inau fencing set up for the bear ceremony.

PLATE XIII. IMAU ARRANGED FOR BEAR CEREMONY.

[p. 30, (M)]

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and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.¹ They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven. 824
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There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutwe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba *Kamui* at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un *Kamui*, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush *Kamui*, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.² At the great Bear Festival, 778
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[825]
[796]

¹ The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro *Kamui* as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro *Kamui* all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with *Kamui Fuchi* and *Nusa-koro Kamui*. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders. [114]

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual diaminial with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro *Kamui* represents Shiramba *Kamui* in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba *Kamui* and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pass kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S. [776]

² Kim-un *Kamui* is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un *Kamui* materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

THE INAU

778 which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui
782 Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are,
776 in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same
[825] offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) perma-
[796] nently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned
with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies*
Sachalinensis, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura *inau*. The
other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.
778 An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*,
782 is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead
[824] of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made
of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel
778 evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue*
789 (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is
[532] regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about
[791] eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of
[201] curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples
of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*)
has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eight-
teen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a
taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some
effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings.
Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or
merely a black rag tied round the head.

778 The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are
789 credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-
824 bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*¹ (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most
commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the
Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and *Alnus hirsuta* (*kene-ni*). The
Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The
elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit
Elder of the World.

778 In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made
789 from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village
171 somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade
of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at
the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

¹ See footnote, p. 30.

THE INAU

were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778 ●
[789]
[171]

The *chehorokakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778
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Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are not offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [783]
[844]
[796]

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with

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778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
 782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*)
 (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned
 above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation
 (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike*
parase) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings.
 Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than
 other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the
 twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning
 the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma*
 meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on
 winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (put-
 ting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip*
 (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
 776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
 778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
 354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*.
 Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the
 Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife
 Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III,
 figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective
inau. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the
 lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual
 impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the
 south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window
 which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups
 of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in
 most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at
 what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a
 crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its
 western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
 [562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
 [782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
 [789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my
 friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more
 powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
 182

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south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*¹ given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

¹ Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

- 778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
 782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
 184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
 [824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
 and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
 [755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral
 associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are
 said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the
 backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the
 bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven
inau, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out
 spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the
 eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most,
 [776] which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.¹
 He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales
 and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called
shian (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
 Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
 787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
 184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of
 divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
 [782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly
 stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be
 heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and
 then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the
 answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
 was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
 789 shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
 [114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, par-
 ticularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one
 south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits
 might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei*
noibe). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is
 doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

¹ Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian
 deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their
 ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

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horizontal frame above the fire (*tuna*), to the adjustable pot-hook (*shuwat*), and to almost any object of value.

When the sacred millet brew (*inau korashkoro*) is made for a festival, they are attached to the vessels for brewing, the wooden pestle for grinding the millet (*yuta-ni*), the winnowing basket (*moi*), the bow and quiver (*ku* and *ikayop*), and anything else that might attract evil spirits. At the northern festival the young bear has a coat and earrings made of them (Pl. IV, fig. 1). In operations involving uncertainty or risk, such as making a dug-out canoe, the same means of protection are employed. Curled shavings are regarded as potent amulets for personal protection.

Twisted shavings are used as bracelets by women performing the ritual of brushing away evil from the sick, and in difficult labour when the midwife also wears two as a necklace. This forms the *eukot* (mutually attached) twisted shavings, a valuable talisman. It is not usually worn by a woman in labour, but is placed under the pillow. One was placed on my wife's neck when she was administering an anaesthetic while assisting me in a case of prolonged parturition.

Curled shavings inside the pillow were formerly supposed to retain the *ramat* of personal vigour and afford protection during sleep. The image (*inoka*) of Kinashut Kamui is made of curled shavings and is used in exorcism rites. A less sacred form made of grass is used for protection in case of illness (Pl. IV, fig. 2). Curled shavings were also used to preserve the aconite poison which is put on arrow-points, from being spoilt by hostile spirits. It was first wrapped in the shavings and then robed in them, in which state it was taboo. Aconite, though feminine, was *kamui* and taboo to women, but recently some Ainu women have committed suicide by means of it. When an Ainu is suffering from possession by the spirit of a hornet, as diagnosed by the medium (*tusu*), a trusted device for causing the intruder to depart is to make an imitation wasps' nest of curled shavings and wave it six times sunwise round the victim's head.

Before leaving the subject of *inau*, a few words should be said about certain signs incised on some of them. So far as I know, there are no marks of personal ownership, but in the Nibutani neighbourhood signs betokening the male ancestral line are incised on five kinds of *inau* on a very special occasion. This is the ritual dismissal of the Bear Spirit at the end of the Bear Festival. A male

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[825]

[755]

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[776]

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● 778
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ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*)¹ is then incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and two on the two twisted shaven *inau* described above as affixed to the *shirikura inau* (Pl. II, fig. 2). Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.

In Kitami province, however, many *inau* bear signs cut on the stems indicating the kinds of *kamui* to which they are dedicated.² Rennuikesh, a native of the north, says that these are seals of truth for *shian inau*. Rennuikesh made for me examples representing the upper parts of various *inau*, and in them we see what might have been the beginning of writing. In Pl. V, fig. 5, we have Chup Kamui (*chu-pa*, shining thing) which stands for both sun and moon, though the sun is more in mind. Pl. V, fig. 4, represents Kanna Kamui. Another figure which may perhaps represent a tree (Pl. V, fig. 3) is for Shiri-koro Kamui (Shiramba Kamui). Deer horns signify Yuk-atte Kamui (Pl. V, fig. 1), who is besought for the increase of deer, and a fish (Pl. V, fig. 2) signifies Chep-atte Kamui, believed to promote abundance of fish. The little bunch of shavings on the winged *inau*, representing a wing (Pl. V, fig. 10), is the symbol of Ainu Satchiri Kamui, the spotted kingfisher, protector of rivers and their produce. *Itokpa* for Wakka-ush Kamui is shown on Pl. V, fig. 9; for Aoina Kamui on fig. 8; fig. 7 is for Abera-ra-shut, a *kamui* dwelling below the hearth; fig. 6 is the *itokpa* for Moshiri-kara Kamui.

Accompanying these probably decipherable signs are others of more enigmatic character. One nearly always present is a line running obliquely between two short and deep cuts, and slightly curved on the contour of the staff. Rennuikesh called it *chishitu konuye*, which might mean 'winding between mountain crests'. During my short trip in the north I met no elder who claimed to know its significance, yet several claimed it as a special sign of their own village. Other marks on these northern *inau* are, it has been suggested, representations of the footprints of bears, but I do not

¹ *Ekashi itokpa*, the male ancestral mark, is incised on objects of three kinds: the *kamui-nomi inau*, the *inau* used in the worship of *kamui*; the *hihe-ush bashui*, a sacred wand with *hihe* (shavings); the *hepers ai*, the arrow used to shoot the bear cub in the bear ceremony (Natori, *The Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo 1945), and, in some districts, on the arrows for bear hunting. In Chitose and Hilaka districts it was only used on the *hihe-ush bashui* (Natori, *Journal of Anthropological Society of Japan*, Vol. 55, No. 5).—H.W.

² These are called *kamui-itokpa*, and are incised on certain *inau* with *ekashi-itokpa* as well.—H.W.

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know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent.

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function.

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-stick as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders as the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye.

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*kike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the given *inau* of Hash-inauk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house.

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

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- 778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from *Kamui Fuchi*. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

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- 778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the underside are found on most household specimens and are the owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

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- These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *like-ush-bashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk *Kamui*, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

- In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un *Kamui*, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.¹

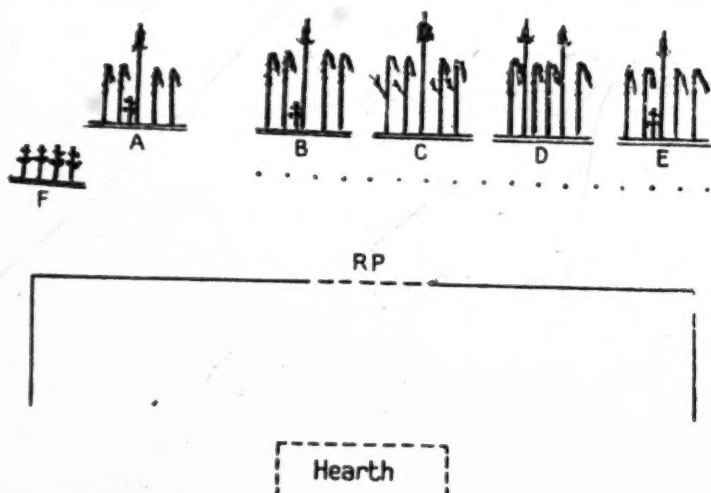
¹ It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

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The diagram in text figure no. 1 shows the position and numbers of the *inau* offered to important *kamui*; it will be useful for following the descriptions of festivals and magico-religious operations in southern Hokkaido. Those in the north are different; unfortunately the notes I made concerning them have been lost.

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Outside the sacred window of all Ainu houses there is a series



TEXT FIGURE 1. Diagram showing the arrangement of *inau* in the *nusa* dedicated to various *kamui* at ordinary celebrations.

- A. *Muru-kuta nusa* of *Nusa-koro Kamui*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*.
- B. *Ram (soul) nusa* of *Shiramba Kamui*.
- C. *Nusa* of *Hash-inau-uk Kamui*.
- D. *Nusa* for *Pase Ongame*.
- E. *Nusa* of *Wakka-ush Kamui*.
- F. Usual position for ceremony of ancestor worship.
- R.P. *Rorum puyara*, sacred window, usually facing east.

of fences called *inau-san*; these are supports or shelves for *inau*. At the northern end is a detached fence reserved for *Nusa-koro Kamui* (A). This *nusa* is commonly called *murukuta nusa*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*, because discarded millet husks are heaped up on it. Here are normally four small winged *inau* (*pon shutu inau*), and one backward-shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*) with a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye inau*) for special occasions (Pl. II, fig. 5,

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782 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those required to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (*kema*), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)¹ who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).

[774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*.

[776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.

[796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] ¹ Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

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when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed - the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering. 778
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These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition 'to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*'. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder. [769]
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Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside. [776]

¹ There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *pitorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters. - H.W.

IV

EFFIGIES

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[774] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*,
[789] by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against
[782] evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit.
[755] Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

778 We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau*
to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts
776 dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under
532 the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with
[774] a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made presentations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

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Deity.¹ It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.² Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramut* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

¹ See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1.

² Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

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- 778 A-c-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

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773 It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

- 778 Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,¹ or taking flight (*hopun-ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby conflagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

[764] Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

- 778 In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indicates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;² these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

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[796] ¹ There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*iwakte*.—B.Z.S.

² *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 1953).—N.G.M.

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guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from hand-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any, the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of inugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

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778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
 776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
 782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
 796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven
inau between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred
 window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*.
 The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with
 its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the
 important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty
 substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
 [273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it
 might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the
kamui might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[553] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it
 has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
 [761] *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed
 immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allow-
 ance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.

[763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed
 to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given
 ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying
 person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man
 or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal
 for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a
 case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
 fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
 776 and Welfare (*Seremak kofungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the
 532 conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine
 wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mug-
 wort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially
 concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked ex-
 cept in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Suc-
 cess (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for
 success in hunting and fishing.

[824] The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
 used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of
 effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*)
 the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to
 some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

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inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikaluye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

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 ● 778 this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they
 755 are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the
 532 body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway
 [782] deities are thanked, and *Kamui Fuchi* is again asked for help.
 Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If *Ramat-tak Kamui* is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; *Kamui Fuchi* is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of *Nusa-koro Kamui* and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of *Nusa-koro Kamui*, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

- [824] *Ai-ush-ni Kamui* (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, is *Pauchi Kamui*, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of *Nusa-koro Kamui*. Known as *Ika-kik* (Driving-out-evil) *Kamui*, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil *Pauchi* away.

- 776 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of
 778 their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,
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and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusakero Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of his effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusakero Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-oina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

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773 Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

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532 Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

[776] A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to Ramat-tak Kamui, is called Ifunara Kamui and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

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[278] The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (*cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of Ikema Kamui, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance.

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[792] Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

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When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later.

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west.

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble.

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody.

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for

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anthropomorphic or theriomorphic *kamui*. It is not the bear as such which receives adoration at festivals, but its Ancestral Host or primeval ancestors as mountain deities vaguely identified with 'the strength of the hills'.¹ I am told that hills not specially reserved for *kamui* worshipped at the *pase ongami* are mostly revered as the home of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

Worship of rocks and standing stones is not very common. A rock near Nibutani faintly resembling a bear used to receive attention. In the north, at a place near Lake Kutcharo called Oya-kot, there is a standing stone which is said to be a monument or image of Moshiri-kara Kamui. He is supposed to have left it with some of his *ramat* on retiring after the creation of the world. It is highly venerated and probably worshipped. Batchelor² mentions a natural stone at Usu on the south-west coast, which appears to have been worshipped, and tells of boulders in rivers, which were believed to harbour kelpies and were said to have been charged with the destruction of an enemy while crossing the river.

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¹ According to the Ainu the bear itself is a mountain deity which brings skin and flesh to be given to them. The deity would be pleased to be caught by a good-tempered hunter and visit his house, bringing its precious gifts. For the hunter, the visit of a mountain deity should be an occasion of great honour. In return for the skin and flesh he would offer entertainment to the visitor and send him back to his home country with great ceremony. In the deity's home-country, it is believed, his relatives and their chief live, and they would welcome the deity with precious souvenirs given him by the Ainu. The chief deity would command his subordinate to visit such a good Ainu again.—H.W.

² *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, pp. 399-400.

V

HEARTH AND HOME

THE AINU house is commonly called *chisei*, but as we have seen, the ancient name was *kenru*. The house of the Ainu was a place for worship of the *kamui* almost as much as a home. The Ainu seem never to have had temples. The nearest thing to such was the house of the village chief, *sapane-guru*.¹ This was much larger than other houses and was often resorted to on great occasions such as a Bear Festival. I am told that in this district when several families had reared captured bear cubs for sacrifice it was not unusual for all to be included in one celebration at the house of the chief, though this was not an invariable rule.² Such a house might hold more than a hundred persons when crowded together. In times of emergency or communal anxiety special services of supplication might be held there, but as a rule every man's house was his temple, enshrining the hearth-fire sacred to *Kamui Fuchi*.

Immediately outside, the *ramat* of the *kamui* at the *inau* fences, already described, conferred protection and help on those who served them. Moreover, the house and its contents were believed to be permeated by *ramat* from *Shiramba Kamui*, and because of this it was necessary to perform rites of exorcism to make sure that no evil spirits were lurking about it (see Chapter VI).

¹ The title, which means 'superior person', was given to the chief of a village district (*hotan*). The office was hereditary, the eldest son succeeding unless he was incapable or otherwise objectionable. In the old days an unsatisfactory chief might be killed if he did not mend his ways.—N.G.M.

² The salmon ceremony was held in the chief's house. The cult group consisted of the male householders of the locality. The bear ceremony was usually held in each hunter's house in turn.—H.W.

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evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennuikesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekiguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four—a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

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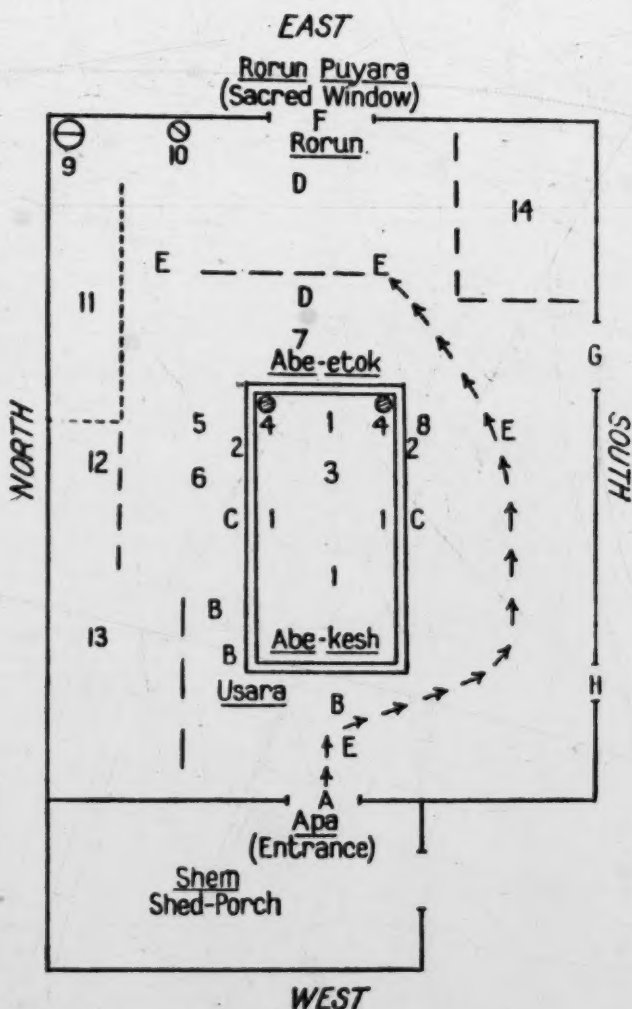
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Sacred Fences for Inau
dedicated to various Kamui

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TEXT FIGURE 2.—Plan of Ainu house.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in repelling and expelling evil spirits.

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[845] Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

[462] The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of provisions was known either as Haru¹ (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) *Kamui*. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru
[192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] ¹ *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

HEARTH AND HOME

inau.¹ After the sacred brewing these *inau* were stuck in the reed wall, a number accumulating in the course of time. They are now seldom seen, but one hears that the curled shavings which still hang at the junction of wall and roof are either offerings to, or contain the *ramat* of, Kenru Katkimat.

¹ Munro states that the *chisri-koro inau* is a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinaye*), similar to that shown in Pl. III, fig. 3, and he has never known an elder confuse it with *Chisei-koro Kamui* (see Chapter VI, p. 72, and Chapter VIII, p. 88), —B.Z.S.

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the
 796 location of the hearth, which must be free from contamina-
 354 tion by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to
 ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought
 necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-
 building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high
 [184] repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from
 elsewhere show slight variations.

- [778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the
 sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one
 backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba
 Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or
 saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the
 hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This
 tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an
 important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX,
 [174] fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the
 Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the
 mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

[417] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from
 [782] a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen
 has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui
 Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the house-
 holder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing
 ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had
 one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
 789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
 354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.¹ Chikube-ni Kamui is then
 796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the
 house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established.
 He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted.
 Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are
 usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way
 Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain
 occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
 796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
 778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
 776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
 782 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then
 removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has
 returned to the god who gave it, and residual *maue*² will be
 gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of
 all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil
 spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer
 required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms,
 flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is ad-
 dressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Opera-
 ting on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked
 with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by
 them, their *maue* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted
 after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on
 dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed.
 Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offer-
 ings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

¹ In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, pre-
 viously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before
 the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits
 who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from con-
 tamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
 been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the
 text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought
 the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after sub-
 sequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second
 having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

² *Maue* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
 as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual
 power.—N.G.M.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa matce eseremak koro*).

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship.

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible.

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to *Kamui Fuchi*, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer.

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

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the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

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A tub (*poroshintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

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Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

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Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

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At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

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 372 been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to
 796 the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct
 782 descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal
 uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors
 is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony,
 • [777] and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a
 [776] backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the
 ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat,
 the female spirit of the house, represented by the *chisei-koro inau*.¹

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth.
 She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is
 stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure)
 Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this
 prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by
 [776] Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready
 for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are
 reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its
 inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children
 who will grow up strong and well.

527 Enscenced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon em-
 342 ployed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some
 districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used.
 An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming,
 and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute.
 Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast con-
 sisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.²

¹ This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not
 be confused with *Chisei-koro Kamui*. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter
 VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

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 [77] ² At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice
 and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and
 hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers)
 a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often
 smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and
 hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distri-
 buted at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish
 usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chop*,
 divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also
 shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included
 several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shito*) were made, besides
 its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited
 from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

(CHISEI NOMI)

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527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the bear.

- [184] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouchsafed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted,
[782] an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinuin*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next



Fig. 1. *Ekashi* prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

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Fig. 2. *Ekashi* invokes Ru-koro Kamui (*kamui* of the privy) before exorcism rites.

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PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p 78 (C)]

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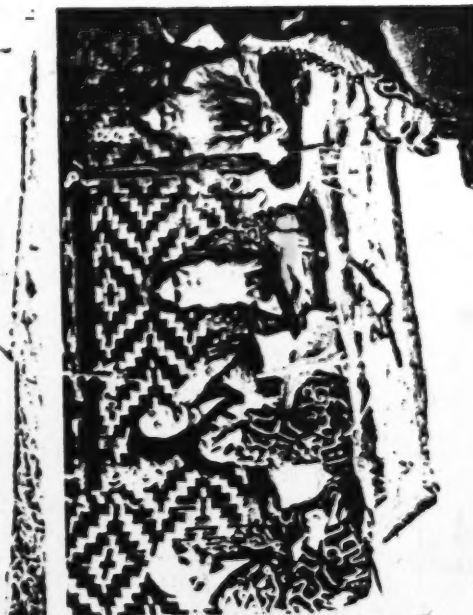
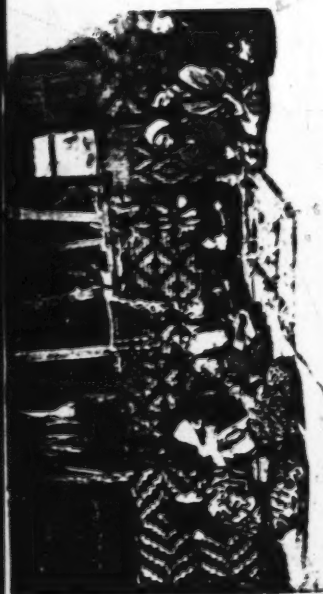
Fig. 1. Ekashi prays at second tree. Fig. 2. Patient at third tree. Fig. 3. Patient is stroked with millet heads at the privy. Fig. 4. Patient is beaten with switches at the privy.

PLATE XX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (D)]



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Fig. 1. An imu woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. Imu woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. Ekashi treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kinashut Kahui at the nusa set up for him. Fig. 4. Ekashi treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]



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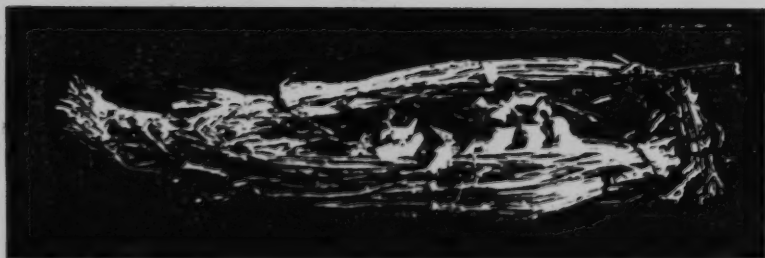


Fig. 1. Treatment for phthisis at tree.

Fig. 2. Boats to be floated down-stream, into which the patient has spat.

Fig. 3. Straw boat loaded with provisions, to induce Pakoro Kamui to depart.

PLATE XXIII. EXORCISM RITES: TREATMENT FOR PHTHISIS.

[p. 78 (G)]

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup¹ with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*irivak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder then takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

¹ I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

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342 THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

527 from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the
782 ceremony of Falling Tears.

554 A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne rutwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped kamui, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

342 Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the kamui who
527 have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is
778 similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before
782 each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.¹ Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the kamui when hunting.

[777] Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five kamui receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

776 A purely local kamui, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit
782 ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings
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778 ¹ A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
 782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-*inau-uk* Kamui.

● 778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
 184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
 776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu ceremonies.¹ In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-*inau-uk* Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114] ¹ Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.¹ The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

¹ *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi opoka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

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THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

782 distinct celebrations.¹ What may seem anomalous is that a common
 574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
 769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
 776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
 [178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is
 cooked by fire, that is to say by *Kamui Fuchi*, now called *Abe*
Kamui, and by her partner or other self, *Iresu Kamui*. Thus all the
 comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered
 to *Kamui Fuchi* before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral
 spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the
 Hearth' (*Abe-ra-un Kamui*), and it is the Ainu belief that the good
 things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the
 Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are
 taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished
 underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at
 these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of
 meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*),
 fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chest-
 nuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the
 hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a
 sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of
 ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder
 prays briefly to *Kamui Fuchi* for permission to take her food. After
 the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the
 hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in
 turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women
 sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
 opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on
 [273] but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service
 to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
 778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*² which has been stand-
 782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
 574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north
 wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

¹ The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations.—N.G.M.

² See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 71.

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isapte*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa itwai*.¹ All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name *Iresu Kamui*, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any kind of decoration.

¹ The word *itwai* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kami*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized.

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796 THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

769 kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the
782 other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a *goun*, filled with beer drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law, her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already mentioned, and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

[576] On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping.

[576] She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order.

• [578] We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This salutation seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appropriate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder. He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service, women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession. The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women perform their own reverent salutation (*raimik*). The householder then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and imperfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

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We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

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Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

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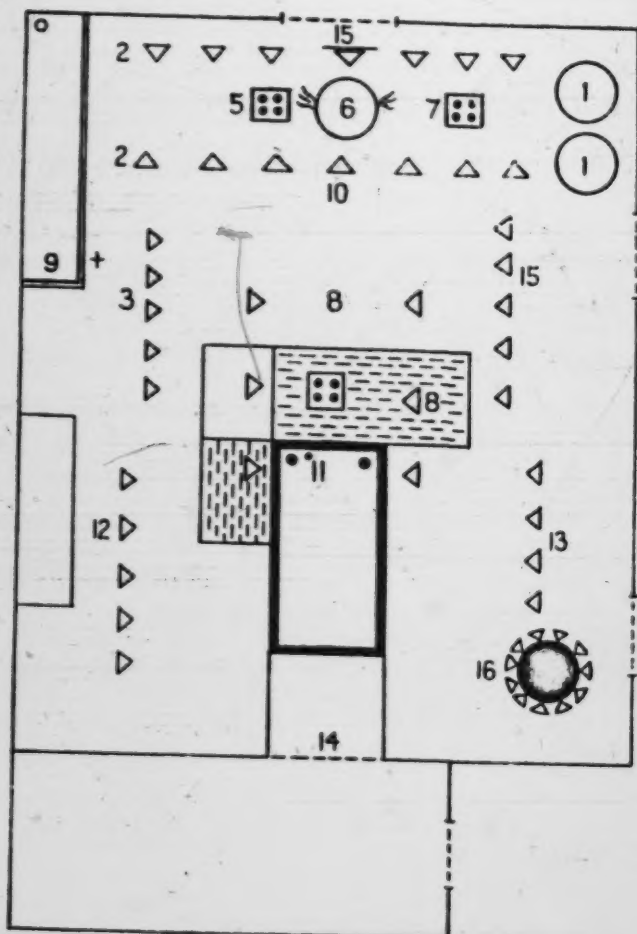
The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the *inau*, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

- 778 THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS
 796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
 769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women
 782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into
 the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects
 of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but
 the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
 [789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
 [776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating
 them ensures health and longevity.
 (184) At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a back-
 ward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set
 up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an
 ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is
 curious.

The Festivities

- 769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
 574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by
 782 most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
 [776] quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
 good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given
 a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having
 performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired
 by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told
 that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded
 in the same way.
 There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main
 services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intend-
 ing to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
 Fuchi, and all present do the same.
 [778] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in
 [532] carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again
 placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to
 a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
 769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
 574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
 782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder through-
 887 out the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a res-
 ponsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

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TEXT FIGURE 5.—Festivity after the *Shinurapa*: the *Shi-iku* (wassail) *U-eshopki* (mutual sitting).

2. Formation of the *shi-iku* (wassail or real drinking) *u-eshopki* (mutual sitting).
- 5, 7. Trays for food.
8. The two rows of a small *u-eshopki* at right angles to 2. The 8 on the mat is the position of the honoured guest in the *u-eshopki*.
10. Householder or deputy.
11. One backward-shaven *inu* left after the *shinurapa*.
15. Position of the *sake-insh guru* or wine controller.
16. Women sitting around the lid of a large *shintoko*, singing *upopo*, and tapping or beating it.

A.C.C.—H

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukreguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *taphara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

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The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *nepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,¹ which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

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As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

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[824]

¹ See Appendix, p. 160.

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- 755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
 776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
 ● 778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
 712 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
 [824] *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the
 patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven
inau for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
 782 by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with
 river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane
 persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I
 learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psycho-
 logical troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as diffi-
 cult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by
 [791] her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit
 responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all re-
 sources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not
 take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Min-
 tuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the under-
 current in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the
 undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui*
 at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief
 of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river,
 is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has
 done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with
 switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep*
 (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At
 each stroke the women call softly '*fusa!*' or '*fsa!*' as a signal of
 expulsion.

- [793] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the
 six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a
 switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw
 the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of
 ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the
 backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent
 (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and
 strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the
 waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

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the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river. 755

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuol*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuol*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed. [778] • [782] [783]

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere. [735] [182]

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle [778]

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● [778] (*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

[783] Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After [782] the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

755 It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are
801 prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

755 The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge [115] and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

[787] In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, [791] defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of [126] a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.¹

755 Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they
753 live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[114] ¹ Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

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755 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As per-
 782 formed by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but
 824 other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of
 two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two
 bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the
 trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is
 about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and
 solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree
 is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the
 prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as
 Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are
 here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another
 of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi,
 Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'pos-
 sessor of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba
 Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been
 erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been
 hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

755 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass
 783 and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women
 officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a
 switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified
 by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the
 second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the
 patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women
 at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a
 [778] switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword
 [824] which has been hanging there in readiness.

On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken
 755 near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or
 783 the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them
 778 down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to
 come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make
 the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have
 been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river
uepotara, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At
 each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with
 ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each
 pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

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sound. When the patient arrives at the backward-shaven *inau* of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle is drawn downwards from both shoulders six times by the two women, as is done in the Kamui Puchi purification.

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Lastly, the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, and purification is again performed, as in the case of Pauchi Kamui, either bamboo grass or mugwort being used. The rite performed before entering the house and that of airing the outer garment are as described previously. The evil *inau*, which were pulled up during the ritual, are placed behind the privy, and, as their function is ended, the rag of black cloth which distinguished the leader is removed. With them are deposited the switches used in brushing away evil.

In cases of hysterical neuroses the types of *uepotara* just described are often successful, but should they fail, incision is sometimes resorted to. Slight incisions are made, little more than scratches, with the sharpened point of a sickle. These may be on the abdomen or over the affected part. They are said to let out 'bad blood', and are stroked over with the *wen haru*. Isonoash says that the bleeding affords a means of exit for the disembodied spirit or its evil influence. There are slight differences in the prayers, and the six sets of evil *inau* are arranged not in a single line but in a double line of three sets on each side. Between these the patient is treated by purification, as described in the last ceremony. In both these exorcisms a thorny switch of *Rubus crataegi-folius* (*fure ai-ush ni*) is sometimes used, but is laid on lightly. The remaining operations do not differ from those of the *uepotara* previously described.

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When the illness is due to possession by a red fox or a badger, a *nusa* is set up at the third tree for Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and the elder prays there also.

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It has already been said that all serious diseases are believed to be due to evil spirits. In former times there were Ainu who were believed to cause sickness and even death by casting spells or by other magical expedients. I regret that I have not visited some places where one or two such people are said to be still living. But in no case known to me has sickness been attributed to black magic; exorcism is always directed against spirits of some sort.

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Epilepsy was formerly treated with severe measures, by purification by means of fire and by immersion in a river till the patient was unconscious or nearly so, but I am told that this is no longer

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755 practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
 [753] with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six
 [824] pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
 755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neuralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
 825 to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases
 158 of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.¹ The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women.

[522] On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake
 [782] out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, in-
 [778] vokes into it the *yamat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

¹ See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

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the tail to sweep her body and purify it.¹ (See Pl. XXI, fig. 3.) It would seem that the rite has a genuinely cathartic effect, and I learnt from various elders that improvement usually took place after a few days or even a few hours. A sick woman may ask the elder for *tusu* rather than for *imu* treatment. In the *tusu* state the patient becomes possessed by the snake spirit of Kinashut Kamui. The elder consults the *kamui* before acceding to this request, and if the *kamui* approves the woman may become a medium (*tusu*).²

There is yet another means of curing the ailments attributed to possession by snakes, whereby a woman becomes a helper or nurse (*ikoinkara guru*), and thereby both relieves a complex and gains esteem. I am told that only women of specially good character are eligible; they become midwives, and though untrained are a great help to women in labour. The ceremonies are much like those of *imu* conversion.

There is one more exorcism, and this is interesting on account not only of the means employed but of the remarkable nature of the *kamui* concerned, which is a hornet. While the ordinary wasp is thought to be vicious and quick to sting, the hornet (*shisoya*) is said to be tolerant, never stinging unless provoked, but terrible when its wrath is aroused. Even horses and bears which have disturbed a nest are said to have been killed. Yet it is believed to be lucky to have a nest in the house, and that the inmates are never stung.

In this district and others in the south the hornet shares, though in much lesser degree, the repute of Kinashut Kamui as a spirit helper, but sometimes its *ramat*, indignant at being assaulted and losing its body, takes possession of somebody and causes sickness. This is said to be cured readily, for the hornet is amenable to the proper mode of exorcism. The following is an outline of its peculiar features, it being understood that, as in all these rituals, the approval of the important *kamui* must first be sought.

A backward-shaven *inau* is set up at the chaff-thrown *nusa*, then a model of a hornet's nest, called *shisoya chisei*, is made of sacred shavings with two curled shavings attached, and this is hung on the *inau* to absorb virtue. After this, switches for purification are made of curled shavings, and lastly some grain, rice or millet is laid at the *nusa* ready for use. I was told that the grain is a token

¹ For other forms of sickness and in the case of epidemics the snake effigy is woven from grass and its tail is used as a brush for purification.—N.G.M.

² See Appendix, p. 163.

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776 of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have
825 a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in
● [778] other exorcisms.

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The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

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Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet; they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One respected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

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In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as Pu-epungine Kamui.

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I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

VARIOUS RITES

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ikema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam kashimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

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After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

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Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

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While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

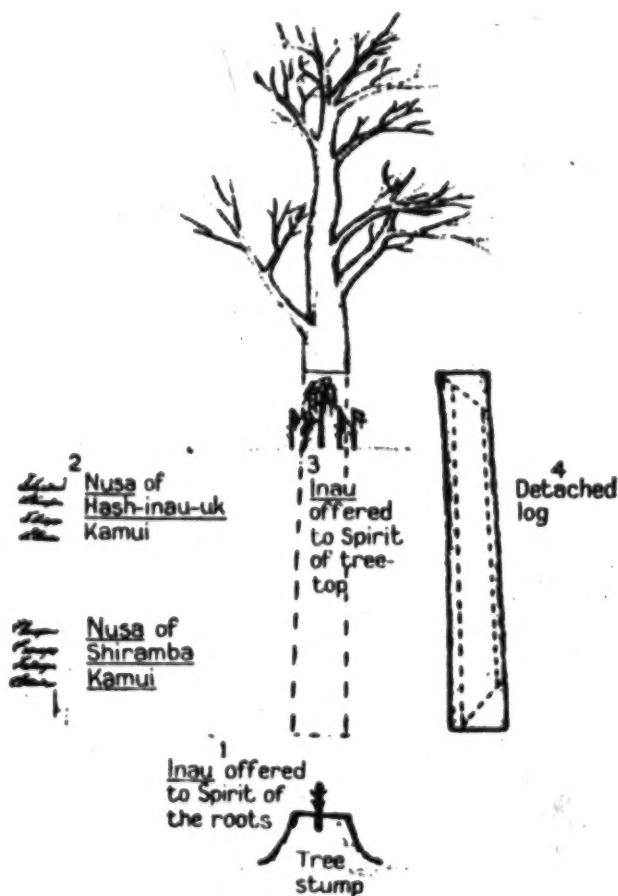
When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.¹ A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

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¹ According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.O.M.

VARIOUS RITES

- 396 Shiramba Kamui and a similar one for Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
 789 These *nusa* were made to face east if possible. A prayer was said to
 782 Shiramba Kamui in which the village and its nearest valley were
 778 named as a means of identification. The top of the tree was given
 ritual dismissal (*inakte*) and another prayer to Shiramba Kamui
 was followed by a shorter one to Hash-inau-uk Kamui (text fig. 6).



TEXT FIGURE 6.—Tree-cutting rite before cutting a log for a dug-out canoe.

VARIOUS RITES

Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (396)
(saman-ni) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready (782)
 to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush
 Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of
 curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern.
 Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged [778]
inau were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer
 is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of
 water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu
 claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a boom- (534)
 ing sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a (789)
 spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for (821)
 hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar [224]
 object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to
 the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the
 arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered
 that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula
 lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an
 epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes
 flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to
 fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly (531)
 circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that
 would answer to his description.

The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, out on the (825)
 ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of (789)
 a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *taphara* on the
 shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were
 to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical (304)
 rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil (789)
 influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 broken or severely damaged before leaving the house; the others are now broken before being placed in the grave.

766 When a pregnant woman died, before the grave was filled in an
843 elder or an old woman performed a rite called *uko-ni-charapa* (to-
[184] gether opening out). The abdomen was cut with a sickle to allow
the soul of the infant to escape. In the north, I am reliably in-
formed, it was pierced with a needle.

695 Before the Meiji Era, a suspected murderer was confronted with
the body of his alleged victim in the open grave, and after an
adjuration to the dead was compelled to undergo trial by ordeal,
dipping his hand six times into boiling water. Other tests are said
to have been drinking an infusion of tobacco or six large cups of
plain water. Should there be no scalding or vomiting, the accused
was acquitted.

764 For aged Ainu it is still customary to line the grave with matting,
178 even when a coffin is used. The upper edge of the matting is
detached and folded over the coffin as the mat is, or was, over the
body. Relatives, the nearest of kin first, take a handful of the earth
dug from the grave and drop it in, and the other mourners then
do the same. This is called *toi-toi a uko-chupo*, in this district
(earth earth thus together replacing).

After this rite the grave is covered. At Shiraoi, in the second
decade of this century, I saw a grave lined with matting with a sort
of roof. The carrying-pole laid along the top served as a ridge-pole,
and boards connecting it with the sides enclosed the grave, which
was then covered with earth.

764 When the grave has been covered the stake which was driven
into the bottom soil to make a hole for the insertion of the grave-
post is removed, and the latter is set up. Then follows the purifica-
[789] tion of the grave from evil spirits or their malign influence, *toi-a*
[783] *epiru*. This is done by brushing with switches, but to make assurance
doubly sure the magically potent *ikema* root, cut into small pieces,
is thrown over the grave from near the grave-post. In other circum-
stances it is often chewed and spat out, the force of expulsion
adding to its efficacy, but it would be dangerous to spit over the dead.

764 The Ritual of the Grave-post
● 778 Learned elders regard the grave-post (*kuwa*) as an ancestral *shutu*
[184] *inu*. Formerly, in the north, posts up to a foot in diameter with
[532]

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elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts 764
 six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are 778 ●
 not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet 184
 high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like 532
 a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular
 top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are
 attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing
 cord wound round them.

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there 531
 are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.
 These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui 776
 Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom 774
 she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the
 deceased to the ancestors.

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream 782
 where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body
 on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accom-
 pany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui
 applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic 823
 water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by
 Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together
 up-raising milk).

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out 764
 on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been 778
 placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is
 then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the
 ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty
 vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly
 forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post.

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is 774
 regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is 776
 free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see
 the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to
 guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits.
 The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the
 dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared).

¹ In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which 184
 was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark
 the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale
 Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161-2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W.

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- 782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
 • 778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
 764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
 776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the
 funerary rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are in-
 voked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the
 wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower
 hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil
 influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray.
 The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then
 taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.

[783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short
 distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been
 given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and
 to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east.
 There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu*
inau kamui.

764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kutoa amusa*), weeping
 778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it
 with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between
 the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post

[776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
 [551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,¹ that is to say
 a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a
 dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

[593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or,
 sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part
 clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in per-
 forming the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for
 a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the
 mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed
 for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

Rites and Customs After Burial

765 While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the
 house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called

[192] ¹ *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
 [422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with
itakpa. — H.W.

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765 Another custom to confuse the departed spirit was observed.

783 Some days after the funeral the house and its contents were again cleaned. Chisei-koro Kamui was removed from the north-east to the south-east corner and all the treasures were moved from the north to the south. A backward-shaven *inau* was set up in the south-east corner of the hearth instead of in the north-east. These things were replaced after a few months, the spirit of the departed being then less likely to return.

• [778] Ashes thrown about the house, at the entrance, and in the yard, are believed to repel the spirit of the deceased and to keep away *wen kamui*.

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768 There was an old custom of *chisei-a-raire* (putting the house to death), that is to say burning it at the death of an old woman if she had been the chief occupant. I was told that the reason for this was to provide a house in the underworld for her occupation. It was unnecessary to do this for a man as he would be able to provide one for himself. Although the custom has lapsed, at Mukawa a model house is made and burnt for the spirits of the dead. It is about six feet by ten, with posts stuck into the ground. It has a hearth with a fire, a frame over it from which a pot is hung, and some food is cooked. Kamui Fuchi and Shiramba Kamui are prayed to, the former to ensure that the house is safely delivered to the departed spirit. I am told that in that district the term Pokna Moshiri, Underworld, is not used; the dead are said to go to Kamui Kotan.

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779 Variants in Funeral Customs

775 In the north there are some differences in funeral customs. Rennui-
184 kesh Ekashi told me of a device, the ghost tube, to induce a wandering or refractory spirit to re-enter the grave, and made one for me (Pl. XXIV, fig. 4). It is made of *kuttara*, and is sharpened at one end for insertion in the soil. Near the top, under the joint, is an opening. The tube is planted in the road some distance from the grave, with the opening towards the grave and the back towards the house. The spirit is adjured to enter and take the short cut to the nether regions. The same device is sometimes used when an epidemic threatens to invade the village; the tube is planted in the road by which the approach of the epidemic is feared, and a sickle is placed behind it.

[731]

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Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that

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- 292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
 301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this
 century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.
- 771 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
 782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
 422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners should they become lost.
- 184 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
 114 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern districts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
 778 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
 782 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
 422 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
 532 at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
 [115] stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
 [769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize, that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.
- 614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
 301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
 796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
 [601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

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795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
 769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
 825 protector (*shirutki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
 776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the
 eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently
 he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded
 as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in
 conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
 [184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which
 was always Metot-ush *Kamui*, and that of Mr Watanabe in which
 he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-
 ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable im-
 portance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus,
 with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they
 [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate
 communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward
 both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl,
 both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral
 cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
 patrilineal cult.¹ Further, the territorial character of the patri-
 lineages in the north is established by the information given above
 by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro *Kamui* (Possessor of the Sky)
 769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro *Kamui* (Possessor of the Village)
 776 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
 114 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to
 all Ainu or limited to certain localities.² Although Batchelor was
 mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is
 significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the
kamui of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ances-
 tral patrilineal cult.

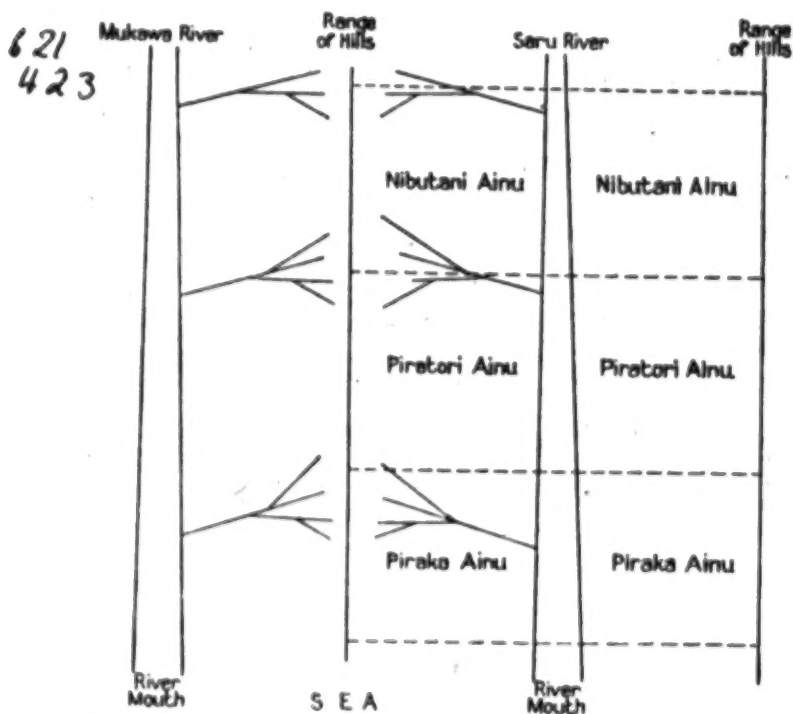
795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
 769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
 614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

782 ¹ It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
 845 Bear *Kamui* was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
 [184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush *Kamui*
 was sometimes called Iworo *Kamui*; thus he is identifying the Bear with a terri-
 torial patrilineal group.

² I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain
 territorial patrilineages.

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- 769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the
 • [778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinri*). He suggested that all *shutu inau*
 [301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be
 [776] effigies. Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal
 spirits which are also associated with the women's *kul*.



TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kojans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watershed-sheds form the boundaries.

- 776 To sum up:
 769 Among the large number of *hamui* associated with the needs of
 614 all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive
 special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

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associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.¹ These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population. 776
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A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid. 776
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One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, *Kamui Fuchi*. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage. 769
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(782)
(778)

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.² The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors. 614
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(423)

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)³ as 611

¹ Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV). [171]

² Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and acrite gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

³ See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1950: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yaho*, pp. 285-332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 332-359.

APPENDIX 1

dancing together they kept up their frenzied saltations to the point of complete exhaustion. Some are said to have died from fatigue, others to have danced into the hills and forests, sometimes perishing there. Discarding clothes, even women are said to have danced naked or almost so, whereas under normal conditions Ainu women would have killed themselves rather than expose their persons. Apart from feminine modesty, this is credible, since every Ainu woman wore a secret girdle. . . . But prohibitions counted for nothing while mob contagion pursued its flighty course. As in Europe, sexual licence is said to have occurred. . . . I was told by an *ekashi* that hunting, fishing and house-work were neglected, and abandoned children and adults died from inanition. For the time being, the established order of customs and mutual relations was disorganized. Wherever the epidemic spread, the same phenomena prevailed, closely resembling those in Europe but seemingly much exaggerated.

What circumstances conspired to start that amazing bolt from self-control and social restraint? The Ainu attribute it to a mischievous spirit, Pauchi Kamui, glamouring them and enticing them to their doom . . . but modern psychology teaches us to examine the conditions which may lead to emotional outbursts. The dancing mania of the Ainu followed upon an experience of enforced servitude . . . when their island came under the domination of the Matsumae daimyos. . . . Its resources were exploited by commandeering the Ainu—young women as well as men—for fishing and other enterprises, while those permitted to hunt had to pay heavy tribute in skins. . . . The Ainu, poorly armed and undisciplined, had no chance against samurai, whose swords put the fear of death on all who did not obey. . . .

Imu. The following is compiled from Munro's notes:

Munro studied twelve cases of *imu*, a form of psychoneurosis common among women. The usual symptoms are: eye trouble, headaches, neuralgia, and functional paralysis, accompanied by dreams and compulsive actions. The usual procedure is for a woman to consult a *tusu*, and a frequent diagnosis is that the illness is due to possession by an evil snake spirit. In that case, after Kamui Fūchi has been invoked, the snake spirit is called, either as Kinashut Kamui or as Nusa-koro Kamui. In the north, transmutation to *imu* condition may be sudden: in the south the process is more gradual. A snake image is made of curled shavings, and purification is performed with it (see Pl. XXI, fig. 3). When exorcism is finished, the subsequent outpouring of emotion is comparable to conversion. The patient is considered cured, but she retains *imu* behaviour. This behaviour (see Chapter IX, p. 108) is said not to be permanent, but in the twelve cases Munro examined it

APPENDIX II

796 dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the
 782 ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offer-
 [824] ings of curled shavings and *inaw* are prepared to please the spirits. The
 elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to
 come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are
 [415] set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang
 778 ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet
 [353] cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the
 [411] Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be
 raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling,
 796 the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Out-
 825 side the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have
 782 gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually,
 [574] is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It
 has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its cap-
 tivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the
 bear *hamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and
 secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage
 through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than
 ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu
 [824] believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run
 [983] about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil
 [533] influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly ad-
 hered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot
 specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no
 harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last
 in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early
 dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-
 pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from
 the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does
 not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit.
 The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over
 the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys.
 The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two
 poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance
 with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, per-
 haps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding
 death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the
 body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

/764 cont. /

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The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is

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only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

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The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The

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[795]

Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the beyond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same conditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

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[844]

The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

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The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the

[776]

gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

[755]

/765 cont. /

844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[155] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front
of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the
occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[187] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer
has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of
her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but
not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does
it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also
highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with
a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she
answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).

[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is
true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it
never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of
the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent
business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any
circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as
early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course,
if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there
is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victorale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
776 Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

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the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for maintaining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

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2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

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These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is

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however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

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The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

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845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika
I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence
of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the
same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear
that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others.
In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
[171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as
household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being
not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for
instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with
many children. She will use these constantly and she will ~~also~~
probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good
remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists
of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific
woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread
belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with
her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who
has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another
remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her
knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble
a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
[595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order
to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
826 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general
view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood
which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood
they will have a child born to them in the first or second year
of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

a fireplace at the centre of the room. The occupants, i.e. the household, usually consisted of the simple family, the composition varying to some extent as shown in Table 1. 592

So far as was verified in the upper Tokapchi and Otopuke, the habitation of each household consisted of a dwelling house, *chise*; associated structures such as a store house for tools and crafts, *iochise*; a small outdoor cage for the bear cub, *hepere se*, an outdoor altar, *nusa san*; open-air drying frames for meat and fish, *kam kuma* and *chep kuma*; and other associated sites such as one for drawing water, *wakkata ushi*; a skinning spot, *iri an ushi*; a site for the preparation of fish, *chep haru ushi*, a bone dump, *pone kuta ushi*, and a fur dump, *rushi nomi ushi* (p. 10). These sites were all sacred and *inau* offering-sticks were set in them. These buildings, structures and sites were arranged in a systematic way within an area of ca. 30-50 m. by 50-100 m. (Note 61). The fundamental pattern of arrangement was based mainly on Ainu cosmological principles. Houses were built so that the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, which had important significance for the Ainu, faced upstream (Fig. 1; Notes 59-60). The significance will be explained later in Chapter VI. 592 778 772

Table 2. Territorial Groups at ca. 1880-85.

Upper Tokapchi Valley.

		Settlement Group	Number of Houses
Part of R. G.	S. I. G.	L. G.	Kuttarashi Pennai
			6 2
		L. G.	Nitmap
			7
		L. G.	Pipaushi
			6
		L. G.	Kumaushi
			8
		L. G.	Sanenkoro
			4
		L. G.	Moseushi
			Nyashikeshi
			Fulka
			Sarunnai
			6 3 1 1
		L. G.	Penke-Pipaushi
			?? or 3

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622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
 788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His
 main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group.
 His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs: a) observance of
 rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanc-
 tion of a trespasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources
 (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs:
 a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being
 kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned
 arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervi-
 sion of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group,
 d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to indi-
 viduals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from pro-
 duction technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was
 respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as
 the bear ceremony.

621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data
 on the subject are scanty and fragmentary¹²⁾. The description below is based
 [115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma
 Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent infor-
 mant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the
 subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
 621 patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
 611 the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi*
 611 *ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
 611 bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark,
 611 *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)¹³⁾, to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick
 for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.

[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi*
ikiru might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different
 local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
 621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
 591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxori-local residence
 608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
 611 *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular mem-
 bers, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

heart of the mountains, or *nupuri noshiki koru kamui*, *kamui* who owns the centre of the mountains, is believed to be the big bear that lives in a large house on the lofty mountain top at the riverhead⁶⁰. In Tokapchi, the abode was believed to be on the summit of *Optateshke nupri*, Optateshke mountain, in Otopuke on the top of *Otopuke nupuri*, and in Azuma on that of Mt. Yubari.

c The headman is never known to move outside of its abode to be seen by the Ainu; but in spring, on its orders, its people put on the bear's form ready for their visits to the Ainu.

d When they go, they take with them bear meat to give to the Ainu for meals. When they set out of their land, the headman gives notice to the fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, who resides in each Ainu house.

e The messenger of the fire-spirit is the bear hound, *riep kamui*, creeping *kamui*, or *iso itak kamui*, *kamui* who calls the bear-spirit, who conducts the Ainu to meet the visitor. The bear, then, is not hunted by the Ainu; it comes to visit them.

f When the ursine visitor arrives, it enters the hunter's house by the sacred window, *rorun puyaru*, presenting its host with the bearskin and the bear meat it brings. In return it receives all the due hospitality for an honoured guest. After accepting the treasured *inau*, shaved wooden stick, the visitor, again in human form, goes back to the riverhead to his headman⁶¹.

g On its return home the spirit of the bear is received by the headman and its fellow people, who all share with it the gift brought back from the Ainu.

h If the bear has been treated with due attention, the headman will be pleased to send more of its people to visit the same host again next year.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to the Brown Bear.

Mention has already been made in Chapters III and IV that in Hokkaido the hibernation centres of bears as recognized by the Ainu lay chiefly distributed in the mountains at the source areas of the rivers and that local groups more upstream and nearer to the hibernation centres showed greater enthusiasm in organized bear hunting than those farther away (pp. 37 and 47). It follows that more cubs were captured annually by those living more upstream and maintaining more bear hunters, while some of those groups more downstream and with less bear hunters seem to have found themselves occasionally short of cubs to bring up for ritual killing.

When cubs taken were brought in by each hunting party, they were either allotted for rearing among the member families, as in the case of Tokapchi, Kushiro, Saru and Azuma areas, or taken on in one lot by the leader's family, all the others contributing necessary feed, as was the case in

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tive participation of the *ekashi ikiru*. Nor are there signs of the cooperation of the *ekashi ikiru* as a whole for such economic purposes as ownership of community property or cooperation in production and distribution. The only exception is the reported presence in the field of politics of what is called '*utaru pake*'; but what the post actually was remains unknown" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 20). At any rate, the relation between *kotan* (local group) and *ekashi ikiru* (kin group) has never been made clear, and not without reasons. 621
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A perusal of the reports by SUGIURA and IZUMI makes one suspect that, from the difficulty of securing competent informants, they could not obtain any concrete data on the social activities of the Ainu as observed and participated in by the native informants themselves in the days before the introduction of land allotment with more or less universal redistribution in their habitation and the destruction of their traditional group life. Another important factor accountable for their failure seems to be their regarding *ekashi ikiru*, *itokpa* and *pase onkami* as mere symbols of the Ainu kin group, or as mere criteria for distinguishing one group from another. The result was an almost complete disregard of the inherent meaning and function of these institutions. The term "*ekashi ikiru*", for instance, is treated as if it were an everyday word for the patrilineal kin group of Ainu males as a mere social unit. As used by the Ainu themselves, it meant the unit group that observed *kamui nomi* rituals including *pase onkami*. Moreover, the word was exclusively for use on the occasion of, and in connection with, *kamui nomi* rituals. Again, *itokpa*, instead of being a mere family crest for showing lineage, was the very mark of ancestry to be incised on such objects as the *inau* for offering to *kamui* spirits. It also formed an essential item of the rites of *kamui nomi*. The *itokpa* and *kamui nomi* through spatial orientation of the *kamui*, maintained an inseparable connection with the habitat of the Ainu. With these rituals for cosmological adjustments, their technological adaptation to their habitat was made complete. In a sense their social organizations were means to maintain those relationships. Such, then, are some of the considerations that are prerequisite to an understanding of the Ainu groups (Chapter IV). 621
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15. Obtaining new *ekashi itokpa*; patrilineal ancestor mark—cases and reasons. 614
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TAKAKURA, on historical evidence, remarks: "Though the sharing of a family mark in common was based on the fact of consanguinity, its use was sometimes extended to those not related in blood. For example, a male servant from a different area living with a family might be favourably admitted and made a sharer of the mark of the family" (Teikoku Gakushuin, ed., 1944b, p. 57). 778

1. [Errata: the word "institutions" should read "institutions".
^ Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

614 In 1939 NATORI made investigations among the living Saru river Ainu
 778 concerning the relation between the patrilineal descent, *ekashi ikiru*, and the
 pattern of the *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal family mark for carving on the *inau*-
 offerings used in all *kamuinomi*-rituals and also on *kikeushi pashui*, the special
 614 libation-wand for rituals of some important *kamui*. His report (NATORI, 1940)
 608 contains several cases, with respective circumstances furnished, of the *ekashi*
 184 *itokpa* of one male line being handed down to another along with its *pase*
 621 *ungami* or *unkami*, ritual for some *kamui* of special importance. The cases
 cited below, referring to *ekashi itokpa* engraved on the *kikeushi pashui* and
 not on the *inau*, will give, though vaguely, some hint and verification on the
 relation between the *itokpa*, the *ekashi ikiru* and the local group.

Case 1. Porosaru settlement today contains three distinct patrilineal Ainu families of long standing—those of Yukashite and Hoshihi, both originally from Tokapchi, and that of Rikizo, known to have lived in the Saru valley from time immemorial. Of the *ekashi itokpa* in use there is only one common to all, that of Rikizo handed down for generations among the Saru people (NATORI, 1940, pp. 207-208).

Case 2. Except Nukipet on the uppermost Nukapira which is tributary to the Saru, the six settlements on the upper Saru—Nioi, Shikerebe, Porosaru, Okotnai, Osatnai and Penakori—all share for the males of their old patrilineal families one *itokpa* inherited from the old Saru natives regardless of their origins (ibid., pp. 204-212).

Case 3. Onnep, grandfather of old Tekkerikin of Okotnai settlement, was of a male line of Shikoma on the Shibichari river. He was adopted by a family of a former Saru *kotan* Okotnai and inherited the *kamuinomi* of his adopted *kotan* with its *itokpa* (ibid., pp. 209-210).

Case 4. All the eight families now inhabiting Penakori settlement are of the same blood and share the same *itokpa*. When traced back along male lines, they resolve into two lineages, five related with Tadao's who descends from a headman of the former *kotan* of Penakori and three others related with old Sanouk. One of Sanouk's patrilineal ancestors came from Tokapchi, the mother of Ekoroekun, fifth on Tadao's male line, and the mother of Itoman-guru, fifth on Sanouk's male line, were sisters. The relationship led Itoman-guru to be adopted into Penakori settlement, making the two families sharers of one *itokpa* (ibid., p. 210).

In the above case of Penakori and those of other settlements further upstream, the new *itokpa* inherited displaced the old one, at least, on the *kikeushi pashui*; nevertheless, the *pase ungami* ritual, ritual to *kamui*-spirit of special

that the way of calling one and the same controlling body varied with varying situations, as when the addressed or the subject belonged to one's own settlement, to another of the same river group, or to an entirely different river group. To cite just an example, the *ku an ushi* of a hunting group - Zarashi and his sons - of Nitmap settlement belonging to the Tokapchi river group, was known as 'Zarashi *koru* (to own) *uoru*', 'ku I. *kor uoru*', 'Nitmap name of the settlement) *un* (to be at) *utar* (people) *kor uoru*', and 'Tokapchi (shpet name) *un utar kor uoru*'. It must be noticed that the last name is identical with that of the *pet* area seen as the entire river group territory. These names, then, all denoting the hunting grounds of a particular cooperative group, stood for the dale area under its habitual control with attendant ritual observance.

Here caution must be taken in discriminating between the *uoru* as a river basin and the *uoru* as the hunting territory of a cooperative group. Nor should the *uoru* in the latter sense be taken, when designated as aforesaid by the name of a settlement, as if standing for any territory jointly controlled by the settlement group or local group.

Pilsudsky reports that the Ainu of Saghalin have from time immemorial distributed all the streams among themselves as private property, and no one but the owner has the right to hunt anywhere along the stream (PILSUDSKY, 1912, p. 136).

59 The orientation scheme of the Ainu house has been referred by some writers merely to the points of the compass, while a few have referred it to the direction in which the house stands to the river flowing by the settlement.

YOSHIDA, who visited one of the Otopuke settlements in 1907, observed that every house in the settlement invariably opened its door to the south, that is, to the lower stream of the river. Otopuke with one window facing east and another facing north, the second being called *kamui puyara* because it opened to the north where *kamui* dwells (YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11). He describes about the Ainu of the age before 1885 who lived in the vicinity of Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi which he visited in 1907 and 1914 and where he became a resident from 1916 to 1930, as follows. The native houses stood along the bank of the river in the order from upper to lower positions with each *kamui*-window opening to the waterhead mountain and each door to the lower stream. Outside each house, toward the upper stream, there stood the altar, between which and the window was erected the cage for the bear-cub. The orientation scheme of the houses varies according to the direction in which the river flows (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 45). A generalization on the meaning of positions is also made by him as follows: "In every district a position in an Ainu house on the side of the upper stream is regarded as an upper

342 seat and one on the other side as a lower one; the house is so oriented in
 36| the belief that at the top of the head mountain in the direction of the upper
 776 side of the house there dwells the guardian *kamui* of the land" (YOSHIDA,
 1958, p. 39).

MITUOKA cites similar information on the Shiraoi Ainu in the Southwestern part of Hokkaido: "The first thing that strikes one from the mainland of Japan as strange is the regular orientation of all the houses in a (Ainu) settlement. Needless to say, ancient tradition rules out all free planning by individuals. Opening a door or window facing upstream is to be avoided in reverence to the many *kamui* or deities, such as *wakka ushi kamui*, that reside on the upper reaches of the river. Houses must face downstream, for [783] human habitation is subject to privacy and uncleanness which it is too awful to expose to the sight of the *kamui*" (MITUOKA, 1941, p. 29).

HABARA quotes an Ainu writer, T. TAKESUMI, as describing, "The door of a house always faces downstream....; the window opening on the side of the upper stream...." (HABARA, 1939, p. 73).

HABARA, examining published materials, concludes: "Their (the Ainu's) settlements are built in a uniform direction on the bank of a river or lake in order to meet the necessity of their economic life and the requirements of their religion born of such life" (ibid, p. 69).

Referring to a similar habit among the Oroch of Sakhalin, NAGANE reports: "The settlement, of a scattered pattern similar to that described for the Ainu, contained five small huts. All faced in one direction and had two doors each, one for the mountain and the other for the sea. The door for the mountain seemed in everyday use. They were coastal houses, apparently after the style of winter houses" (NAGANE, 1935, p. 176).

778 60 The use and significance of the sacred window.—On the basis of the
 776 data given by GREY and BATCHELOR, HALLOWELL pointed out the Ainu custom
 342 of taking any part of the bear, and on certain occasions other game or fish, into the dwelling through a special window (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 143).

For the use and significance of the window an account is given by BATCHELOR (1901, p. 124). KINTAICHI states, "Implements of hunting and fishing are taken out of the house by this window, *kamui kush puyaru*, window for *kamui*, and never by the ordinary doorway. Game brought home also enter by this and no other way. Right below it you see a space, called *moshkaru*, [825] set apart for depositing the game. In Ainu conception game of all kinds are *kamui*; an animal or fish taken by a household master is a guest coming on a visit to the fire-spirit of the house. The belief is that when the game arrives, the fire-*kamui*, invisible to human eyes, is at the window to greet and show in the *kamui* of the game. Hence the great sanctity in which the

Hence the great sanctity in which the

window is held at all times and the taboo of peeping therein as a gravest violence." KINTAICHI, 1937, pp. 118-9. The present writer also was informed of exactly the same ideas and practices concerning the window from Kazari, my informant from Otopuke. YOSHIDA gives the following information obtained from the Otopuke Ainu on his visit to Otopuke early in the 1900's: the window, *kamui puyara*, is faced towards the North or the upper reaches of the Otopuke river where *kamui* reside, and the *kamui* look into the Ainu house through the window YOSHIDA, 1956a, p. 11.

Of the Sakhalin Ainu the sacred window of similar use and significance is reported. The name is *kamui kushi puyara*, window for *kamui* to pass through, or *inao kushi puyara*, window for the *inao*, one for taking out *inao*-offerings for the outdoor altar NAGANE, 1925, p. 95).

Miss Gerda SMIDT of the National Museum in Copenhagen, called my attention to a fact that the Lapp house also has a special entrance for a bear killed.

61 Spatial arrangement of the Ainu dwelling house, the associated structures and workshops.—Being inseparably connected with gathering activities, these structures and workshops, together with their traditional pattern of arrangement (Figs 1 and 6; p. 9) were fast discarded in comparatively recent times with the conversion to agricultural life (Notes 7 & 8). Today what remains is a scrap of their names preserved in Ainu dictionaries and oral epics known as *yakar*. Nor is there literature referable on the spatial orientation of those structures and workshops that used to be annexed to the dwelling house of the Hokkaido Ainu. For the Sakhalin Ainu, information is supplied by YAMAMOTO concerning their dwelling house, food storehouse, dog-leashing poles, lavatory, bear-cub cage, altar, ash- and refuse-heaps, etc., all arranged on a prescribed pattern in their home settlement YAMAMOTO, 1943, pp. 57-62.

The book indicates that the Sakhalin Ainu built their dwelling house, altar and bear-cub cage in a relative position identical with their Hokkaido Ainu counterparts as investigated by the present writer. The relative position of the ash heap in either case is also roughly the same. Some of the storehouses were also in the same position. That the sacred window and the altar apparently formed an axis likewise pointing up the stream flowing past the settlement, may be inferred from a statement in the book that the Sakhalin Ainu settlement was originally located, with their doors opening on the sea and their backs to the mountain, on a seaside elevation near a river mouth ascended by the dog- and cheery-salmon (ibid., pp. 15 and 57) and also from three accompanying sketch maps (ibid., pp. 55-56).

62 Social aspect of the dog-salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which circumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern *ibid.*, p. 131, Fig. 39. [796] • [778]

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence *ibid.*, p. 131. [621] [622]

68 INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255. These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. [231] [182]

The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

69 In the *kamuinomi* ritual ¹ was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau* sticks, some items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of [782] [685] [439] [782]

1. [i.e., a person who was apprehended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]

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231 it becomes larger, is put in a stronger prison outside the house and
191 built exactly as among the Gilyak, and is fed on fish (1). The

[113]

1. In Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa Bay on Sakhalin, Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 79) and Langsdorff (Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/, Vol. I, p. 285) saw a young bear in almost every Ainu hut..

only way in which an Ainu bear-cage differs from a Gilyak one is that the more or less long poles planted at the corners of the structure, with fine wooden spirals hanging from them, as they were seen by Coen, the helmsman of one of the boats led by Vries in the discovery of Aniwa Bay in 1643 (2), may scarcely be lacking

2. Siebold, Aadr. - en volkenk. toelicht., etc., p. 110.

on it (3).

3. See also Scheube, loc. cit.

796 These poles or sticks with fluttering wooden spirals, called
● 798 inau or inao by the Ainu of Sakhalin, inabo by those of Jesso, imi-
171 tations of the hei or gohei sticks adorned with strips of paper which are used as symbols of divinity and holiness in the old Japanese kami religion (Sintô /Shinto/) (4), play an important part at the

4. Scheube, loc. cit. . Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 203.

bear festival of the Ainu. Not only the bear's cage, but also the interior of the hut is decorated with them, and they are set up in great number around it and in front of it on a place on the east side of it where the bear is eventually killed. Bamboo leaves

/736 cont. /

796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
 798 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
 171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the
 wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin
 and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the
 Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the
 same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedi-
 cated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke
 and fragrance produced by burning them and to express to it or its
 manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their
 respect and veneration.

796 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin
 231

5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

[43] another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if
 the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that
 it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
 has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied
 to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth
 removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.

[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear,
 more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn
 doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear,
 which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of
 honors.

796 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eat-
 782 ing of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a liba-
 tion, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older
 women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth deco-
 rated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedi-
 cated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the
 forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat
 stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into
 the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the
 god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

779

779 THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS--elaborated systems of religious beliefs (e.g., totemism, pantheism); state religions; revealed religions (e.g., Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism); sacred books; content of complex systems of dogma and theology; association of theological systems with ethics and philosophy; etc.
See also:

Totemic kin groups	61	Statements on the general character of religion.	771
Ethical ideals	577	Sects	795
Ancestor worship	769	Theologians	812

621 formerly one *kotan* represented one *ekashi ikiru* (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 19). Again: "It' a *kotan* as social unit: has a *kotan* chief, *kotan koru kuru*, ...and its people in many cases belong to families of the same blood (*ekashi ikiru*), rarely to groups of different bloods" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 35). And: "The *kotan koru kuru* is hereditary. In some cases his family is the oldest in the *ekashi ikiru* of the *kotan*" (ibid.). For the related problem of how a newcomer is admitted into *kotan* membership, see Note 14, especially its latter part.

614 13 A definition and examples of *ekashi itokpa* are given by KŌNO (1934).
531 Some *ekashi itokpa* bear a design held by the Ainu to represent an animal, or, more exactly, part of an animal: those given by KŌNO as actual examples show the footprint of the brown bear, that of a bird whose name is unknown and the fin of the dolphin (or grampus², respectively (KŌNO, 1936). The fact
• [77] has been noted by some writers as evidence for a survival of a totemic custom or totemism; but such a theory has not been accepted by others. The variety of the *ekashi itokpa* among the Ainu inhabitants in the Saru valley in 1939 was investigated by NATORI: the result shows a conformity of the marks among the Ainu on the upper course and a diversity among those on the lower course (NATORI, 1940; Note 8).

621 14. Membership of local group. Sugiura, on his survey of the Saru River
614 area, came at two conflicting sets of informants as to the membership formula
608 of the local group. According to one set "some *kotan* (local group as classified by the present writer: were formerly composed exclusively of members of the same *ekashi ikiru* group sharing the same *itokpa* (ancestral mark) and *pase onkami* (ritual of some important *kimu*-spirit; properly called *kamuinomi* *pase onkami*) in common. When such a *kotan* admits a member of another *kotan* belonging to another *ekashi ikiru*, the person was required to give up his old *itokpa* and *pase onkami* for those of the new *kotan* and become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 18). According to the other set of informants "it was thought too cruel to force the newcomer to accept the *itokpa* and *pase onkami* of the new *kotan* and renounce his hereditary *pase onkami*" (ibid.). A case was brought to his notice in which "a male member, on adoption or marriage into another family (but not on immigration, not only received his new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* but retained his old ones as well, which he handed down to his descendants" (ibid.).

Of these two conflicting formulas SUGIURA regards the first as norm and the second as deviation. He remarks: "It might be assumed that some of those newcomers retained their old *pase onkami* along with those of their new village (*kotan*). The result was a confusion arising between different *itokpa* and *pase onkami* which originally marked one *ekashi ikiru* from another.

782

782 PROPITIATION--practices reflecting a sense of dependence and a desire to ingratiate or influence the supernatural; repudiation and intimidation; obeisances (e.g., bowing, genuflection); laudation; prayer; sacrifice (e.g., libations, food sacrifices, animal and human sacrifice, symbolic and vicarious sacrifices); vows; burning of incense; decoration of religious edifices; endowing of shrines and temples; etc. See also:

Philanthropy	73, 74	Desecration and consecration of sacred	
Hymns	533	objects and places	778
Etiquette	576	Stereotyped prayers	788
Mortuary sacrifices	764		

THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE AINU

9

413



A COMMON MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.



A CEREMONIAL MOUSTACHE-LIFTER.

The moustache also is very thick and sometimes 302
 gets in the way when drinking or taking soup, so the 413
 men have invented a kind of "lifter" for them. These 264
 instruments are pieces of wood shaved down flat, about 782
 nine inches long, pointed at one end, and an inch or so
 wide. With these they hold their moustaches up and
 so keep them out of their food or whatever they may
 be drinking. The pointed end is to dip into the *saké*
 or anything they may be drinking at the time, and so
 take out a few drops and offer them as libations to
 the gods; even soup is sometimes thus offered. Fuji,
 the Goddess of Fire, especially, comes in for a portion.
 The libations are offered with deep reverence and may
 be regarded as a kind of "grace" said before meat.
 Should there happen to be no "lifter" near when
 needed, they use the index finger instead to hold up
 the moustache. One wonders why they have not in-
 vented moustache-cups for themselves.

When I first came among them I found that the 526
 people were very careful not to lose any of their hair.
 As Samson's strength was said to be in his hair, so
 the Ainu appeared to imagine their life depended in
 good measure on theirs. Many years ago a woman
 came to me in great distress because her son had been
 detained in a Japanese prison and the authorities there
 had shaved his head. This, she declared, was a double
 punishment and a very severe one, because the cutting
 off of the hair would surely shorten the poor boy's life!

THE STATUS OF AINU WOMEN

15

was either to put up with it silently or to don their hats⁵⁶² and go away. And the woman would, if she saw fit, march off, without more ado, at any time.

Although matters have changed with these people⁵⁶² in almost every respect since early times, yet there⁵⁹³ are a few things which echo down among them from the past to the present—faint, indeed, but there nevertheless. The family tie on the woman's side was stronger than that on the man's side, as it is still in some degree. The brother of the mother was looked^[604] upon as the real head of the family, and the sister had, in her own family, more privileges than her brother's wife. But these relationships are not so much insisted on today.

It appeared to me that in marriage the men got⁵⁶² the best of the bargain. The wife always looked upon⁴⁶² it as her duty and privilege to attend to her husband's wants, to till the soil and provide all the millet, vegetables and garden stuff. She and her daughters did all the household work, drew the water, wove all the cloth and made the clothing. Of course they did the cooking. And thus the women folk had a very busy time of it. But then, food and clothing were all they needed. There were no taxes to pay, no fuel to buy, no shops, no clubs, no movies to attend, no electric light bills to meet, no Government Members to pay, no institutions whatever to keep up, and no "pubs." There was good brotherhood among them. The work of the men con-^[22]sisted in hunting and fishing, so that it was up to them to supply the house with all animal food. If rice, which the Ainu women did not attempt to grow, was needed, the men had to work to get the money, skins, or fish to purchase it with. In order to raise this money, if they had no skins for sale, they hired themselves out to the Japanese fishing stations or went horse-tending or timber-cutting or land-surveying for the Japanese. It was also their duty to spend much^[782] time in making fetishes and worshipping the gods.

181 Their motto was quite Christian when put in practice, namely, "If a man does not choose to work, neither shall he eat" (the word "man" being, of course, taken in its generic sense). Such was the golden age of the [565] Ainu. They were quite socialistic and had no class distinctions. But if a man got a little more by his industry than his neighbour, he was allowed to keep it.

462 I was very much surprised to find that the women
● 782 did not often draw nigh to the gods in prayer; that was
562 left to the men. On asking the reason of this, I was informed that "the women as well as the men used to worship the gods and take part in religious exercises, but our wise ancestors forbade them to do so, because it was thought they might use their prayers against the men."

562 Nevertheless, the women are sometimes sent to
782 offer libations to the deceased ancestors. But they are
769 taught to say just these words, as a rule, "O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this *saké* and food to you." The Ainu are somewhat strict about this and they say, "If a person cultivates a selfish spirit and offers no food and drink to his departed ancestors, the elders of the people should warn him, saying, 'O stupid and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand, thou shall die a hard death.' If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to honour the dead." And so I found this form of worship honourably and punctiliously observed.

CLOTHING

87

or dried grass was stuffed in them for the sake of 291
warmth. For walking over snow they used shoes made
of wood and thongs of skins.

The old women and widows wore hoods. These had 292
a hole left at the back of the head for ventilation, and
their aprons were nicely ornamented with patterns. 1888
The women were very proud of their fancy needle- 589
work, the patterns of which were tastefully worked in. 294
The materials were Japanese stuffs and coloured cot-
tons and threads. The groundwork was the ordinary
native elm-bark cloth. All patterns were worked from
memory, and some of the women and girls were very
expert at this kind of work.

Before elm bark is stripped from the trees, the 782
dryads or spirits are always worshipped and appeased. 294
The following story told me by an Ainu will explain
why this is so.

"It is good to take the bark of elms and make 539
clothing of them. There is no sin in skinning the tree;
but mark, the elm harbours many—very many—
demons. It is for this reason that it is sometimes
called "very wicked elm tree." And it is particularly
called by this name if it has caused an accident. Now,
once upon a time some people went to get elm fibre.
They journeyed far into the mountains, searching for a
good tree. At last they came to a place where there
stood a very fine one, leaning over a precipice.

"The bark was of very good quality. The people
came up to it—to this very king of elms—and com-
menced to strip the bark off. They cut it round near
the roots and pulled at it till all at once it slipped off
the trunk and in the twinkling of an eye peeled itself
right up to the very top. The people held on fast, for,
alas, it all happened so suddenly that they had no time
to let go. Retaining their hold for dear life with both
hands, all of them were in a moment swung over the
deep precipice and seen dangling over the valley. There
they swung, miserable creatures, to and fro, to and

252 eat it raw, but if too much is taken, it causes scrofula or boils.

● 782 All things are looked upon as gods or demons in their own sphere and order. Cereals are said to be gods and are worshipped, and eating the firstfruits is a religious act. Thus an Ainu gave me the following lore on this subject. It is a prayer to the god of cereals.

788 "O thou Cereal Deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy flavour will be sweet. Thou art good. The Goddess of Fire will be glad, and we shall rejoice greatly. O thou god, O divine cereal, do thou nourish the people. We now partake of thee. We worship thee and give thee thanks." After having thus prayed, the worshipper takes a cake and eats it, and from this time the common people may all begin to eat the new millet.

And so with many gestures of homage and words of prayer this kind of food is dedicated to the well-being of the people.

782 No doubt the cereal offering is regarded as a tribute
776 paid to God, but that god is none other than the vital principle in the seed itself; and it is only a god in so far as it is beneficial to the human body. The conclusion I have arrived at from this and other examples is that the cereals are considered as a kind of totem gods, and that the Ainu idea of holding communion with such gods is by eating them and thus partaking of their goodness and life-giving essence. The same idea underlies the bear festival.

576 On a certain occasion I gave some cauliflower seeds
264 to an Ainu friend, but on going to pay him a visit later, found the plants in danger of running to seed. Upon asking him and his wife why they had not cut and eaten them, the lady replied: "You yourself have not yet partaken of them. We cannot touch them till you have first eaten some." Of course I cut some at once, cooked them, and was very glad to dedicate

771
527 may possible have been originally clan or totemistic
293 signs.

264
● 782
771 Among the Ainu all the objects so represented are first worshipped and then killed and eaten. Some of the flesh is eaten raw and the warm blood drunk. There seems to be some special virtue attached to drinking a little of the blood, which is caught in a vessel when the animal or bird is killed at the feast. Indeed, so much is thought of this that whenever the Ainu send me by post, as they sometimes do, a portion of bruin's flesh after he has been sacrificed, some of the blood is invariably sprinkled on the inside wrapping. The meat is always nicely wrapped up in sacred fetish shavings as well. No doubt the flesh is good but I can never bring myself to touch it. I thank them for their kind thought.

In my very early days here it was no uncommon thing for me to see such living creatures as I have mentioned, even poor little sparrows, kept in cages to be used in sacrifice at the proper season. By eating such, the peculiar powers and special virtues of each were supposed to pass into the communicant. To keep one of these in a cage was to be sure of great good luck, only the creature must be very carefully attended to or evil would, it was supposed, befall its owner.

766
782 On a certain occasion it was necessary for me to pass through a village where there was a great and mighty wailing for the dead going on, accompanied by a noisy bacchanalian feast. The whole village was mourning and many had come in from miles around to assist, each bringing dumplings or *saki*. "What is the matter?" I asked. "Oh, the little cub has died," was the reply. It was a death feast, for the "dear little mighty one" had died. Its flesh was not to be eaten as it would have been had it been properly killed, but its head would be set up on high at the fetish place as a relic to be gazed upon and worshipped. A very elaborate funeral was being given it. Its spirit must be thus mollified

ABOUT MASCOTS

107

and propitiated. It must be sent away with much sake ⁷⁶⁶ and many dumplings (made of millet and rice, in this ⁷⁶² instance) and so be persuaded to give its ancestors a good account of its treatment while upon earth. And in the other world, taking the essence of the viands then offered, it was to make another feast for those gone before. Thus, then, the village mascot had died, ^[777] and yet it lived. And now for the story of my present.

A short time ago a Japanese farmer, 60 years of ⁷⁷⁷ age, came with a friend and asked if I would try to ⁴³¹ take away a big hard lump he had growing over his ribs, for he did not like to undergo the operation his doctor proposed. He was afraid he would not get over it. My treatment was successful, so that happily he was soon quite himself again. And he was very much rejoiced. Shortly afterwards he sent me by a friend a beautifully carved kite which he had done himself. It was a thank-offering to me for what I had done for him. I thought it was a very quaint gift, and made inquiries as to what it meant. I was informed that the farmers of his district often made these things for themselves and special friends as talismans. To keep such would be sure to bring good luck. And so my farmer thus wished me happiness and prosperity. This is how I came by my mascot.

It will be remembered, no doubt, that just as Ad-⁷⁷⁷ miral Togo was about to attack the Russian fleet in ¹⁷¹ the 38th year of Meiji, a hawk came and settled on his flagship. This was taken as a great good omen and sent a thrill of joy and confidence not only throughout the navy and army but through the hearts and homes of the people of the whole Empire. I was here in Sapporo at the time and saw the result. The incident braced the people with courage, strengthened their will, and inspired them with assured faith and hope. We know what the result was. The enemy fleet was sunk. With this incident in mind I can well understand the old man's meaning.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927

AB6 Ainu AB6

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293



AINU CHIEF ABOUT TO WORSHIP THE
FIRE GODDESS

[P. 112]

331 In building their dwellings, the people begin not
 342 "with the top brick of the chimney," but with the roof.
 This consists of bare rafters tied to horizontal poles at
 the lower end and a long ridge-pole at the upper, to
 which the thatch is fixed. The inner layers of bark,
 especially of elm trees, and pieces of vine and creeping
 plants are used as rope and string for tying the poles
 together. As soon as the roof is finished, poles about
 seven feet long (of magnolia by preference, on account
 of its supposed durability) are driven into the earth
 at a distance of about six feet apart, and across these
 smaller pieces of wood are lashed, to which the thatch
 is tied; and thus the walls are formed. These poles
 have each a fork in the top. When they are all set up
 in their places, the roof is lifted bodily on to them, the
 lower horizontal poles being allowed to rest in the forks
 at the top of the uprights. The thatching is then pro-
 ceeded with. This takes a day or two to finish, for the
 huts are entirely thatched with reeds, right from the
 ridge-poles on the roof to the foot of the poles stuck
 in the earth. Both men and women work at house-
 building, in which I have also sometimes joined for the
 [462 fun of the thing, and the spring and autumn were the
 227] proper times for this occupation.

342 When the framework of the house has been set up
 and the "heart" fixed properly in its appointed place, a
 preliminary house-warming festival takes place, at
 which prayer is said, dumplings eaten and either millet
 beer or Japanese *sake* partaken of. The first prayer is
 as follows:—

342 "O House God! O Caretaker of the Room! we
 788 worship Thee; we beseech Thee to hear us. In olden
 times, when the Goddess of Fire was sent down from
 ● 782 Heaven, a house came down with her. The frame was
 made of wood and the walls of reeds. The heart also
 was there. Now, when God sent the building down,
 He said, "This house will, together with the Goddess of
 Fire, watch over the people. When it becomes old,

HUT BUILDING AND DEDICATION

109

another should be made in its place and children born and brought up in it.' So now, O God, this room is finished and the heart has been given it. Do Thou and the Goddess of Fire keep the people in good health. We offer Thee fetishes. Pray see that those who shall dwell in this house do not become ill."

After the walls have been covered in and the roof quite thatched, many fetishes are made, the furniture brought in, and the chief household god set up in his corner in the sacred place which is his.

When building their homes in olden days the men were very careful to drive in two good-sized stakes at the head of the hearth, one in the right-hand and the other in the left-hand corner. They were set there in a very reverential manner, with many prayers and much ceremony. Like almost everything else, they were called "gods" and treated with awe. They were even worshipped and had libations offered them on occasion. No house was considered safe to dwell in without these objects, and they were supposed to bring good or ill fortune as befitted the case.

I once quite unwittingly gave great offence to a chief I was visiting on a very cold day, by resting my heels on one of his little posts and turning the soles of my feet towards the blazing fire, to warm them. Fortunately, my good friend chief Penri was sitting by my side and explained to me the heinous crime of impiety I was thereby committing. I took them off directly and apologized for the act. Clouds at once passed away and peace was restored so that we got along in perfect concord.

The proper full name of these two stakes is *Inumbe-sa-ushbe*, which means, "Objects set at the head of the hearth." Those I saw in chief Penri's house were very good specimens. The old man told me that they were about three feet long and had been driven into the hearth corners with a wooden mallet. So deeply had they been driven in that only about six inches

THE TWO HOUSEHOLD GODS

181

ing hour together, comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

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2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927

AB6 Ainu AB6

Yakut RV2

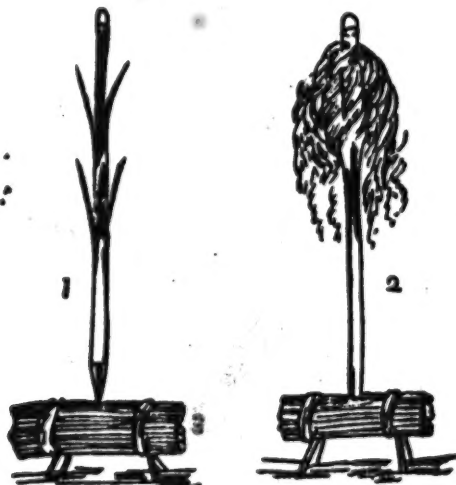
182

AINU LIFE AND LORE

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[776]
● 782] ever knows what kind of temper the "Old Man Fire" may be in, as he sits there burning upon the hearth, it behoves everyone to conciliate him often by offering him little gifts, for he is a very jealous one. He is said to love fat, butter and cream better than anything else.

Y
784
372 As regards firelight, there are two interesting taboos connected therewith. No young man may pass beyond the strip of light which falls from the household fire, to cross over to the women's side of the hearth; nor may any woman, if she can possibly avoid it, pass through the strip of light in front of the hearth. Any transgression of these two taboos would bring dire trouble, the Yakuts believe.

778



THE WILLOW TOTEM

1. is the stem itself.
2. is the stem with the shavings tied round it.
3. is the pillow in which it is set.

852 After this has been set up, a prayer is said, which
 782 indubitably shows that this birth fetish is looked upon
 as the angel of the child's growth.

"As the backbone of man was originally made of willow wood, the men should hasten to make fetishes of this tree as soon as a child has been born. After it has been properly piled they should address it thus:

'As thou, fetish, art a god, we worship before thee. When God formed man in the beginning He made his spine out of willow wood. We therefore call upon thee, O willow fetish, to watch over this child while he is growing up. Guard him and give him strength, together with a long life.'

"After this prayer has been said, the fetish should be reverently stuck in its pillow seat and placed by the bedside. When the child has grown up, he should frequently procure saké or millet beer and worship this, his guardian god."

THE BIRTH TREE AND CHILD-BIRTH

186

Such is the folklore given me on this matter by 778
my friend, and from it we conclude that the willow is 824
the special individual tree totem of every Ainu born 755
in Hokkaidô. As might well be expected, this fetish is
particularly worshipped in times of sickness, by the
individual for whom it was made. The following is a
prayer taught to children for their use on such an oc-
casion:

"O thou willow god, as thou art my spine—my very back-
bone—do thou hasten to heal me and make me strong. O thou
dear deity, I am ill, and my body has become weak; pray help
me soon." [782] ●

If this little prayer be said often and devoutly, it is
supposed that the sufferer will soon recover from his
malady. The auto-suggestion which is so necessary
for a healing is thereby produced, and that is more
than half the battle.

So, too, when an older person falls sick, the elders 755
meet together and make fetishes of this tree for him.
After these have been duly worshipped, they are taken
out of doors and carried to the sacred place at the east
end of the house and there set up among what are
called the *nuss*. These *nuss* form a big cluster of
fetishes, old and new. Some are but a few inches high
and others six feet or even more in length. The length
is got by tying them to poles which are called "lega."
Among them may be seen the skulls of animals killed
in hunting or for sacrifice. In Saghalien I once saw
one or two round hoops set up on high among them,
and was told that these represented offerings to the
sun.

The magical influence of these things is supposed 776
to be very great. It always struck me as being a very 755
weird and mysterious custom to stick such things up
and to consider them, both fetishes and place, as
sacred. If, after being set up, any of the sticks strike
root and grow, it is supposed to be a good sign. It
shows that the person on whose behalf they were made

825 The prayer said at the time of the "sending away festival" for the eaglet runs thus:

● 782 "O divine beloved one, I have brought thee up till now because I loved thee; and now I send thee to thy father. I also present thee with food, fetiahes, whisky and cakes. If thou wilt take them to thy father, he will greatly rejoice. And do thou speak to him on this wise, I ask thee: 'I have dwelt for a long time in Ainu-land; there an Ainu father and mother brought me up. And now I come to thee. Moreover, listen. I have brought thee a great variety of good things. Now, I saw in Ainu-land many kinds of trouble. They were such as these. Some were possessed by devils; some met with accidents from wild animals; some also met with landslides; some met with accidents from the waves of the sea; and I saw many kinds of sickness. Ainu-land is in a very difficult and perilous condition. Hear, my father, and hasten to turn toward that land and send help.' If you speak thus before your father and mother, he will succour."

825 This man was 17 years of age when I first met him. When I was in his district, his house being near he used to come to me of an evening to be taught. One evening he told me that it was very difficult for him to believe that all men are descended from the same original ancestors. His own family relations, he said, considered themselves to have come from eagles in the beginning. What did I think of it? So we sat down and talked the matter over.

Ari. My people were of the eagle clan and I have been told that my real ancestor was descended from an eagle.

Self. Oh, indeed, that is very interesting. Tell me all about it, please, and let us talk the matter well over.

I then said: "Do you mean to say that you think an eagle laid some eggs and then sat on them and hatched out your original ancestors?"

THE VINES OF HEAVEN

245

actinidia and grape vines in Ainu-land. But there are ⁵³⁹ no metal vines. All are of nice, lithe, living wood. By this my younger brother will see that there is great good to be got from wearing ear-rings of such vines."

"Ah," I replied, "I see what you mean. Have you any more old lore concerning the vine? Did your forefathers hand down anything besides what you have now told me about these vines? What did your grandparents say about them?"

"Yes, just so," replied he. "The Ancient Ones told ⁷⁷⁸ us that we must be particular to make fetishes out of ⁷⁵⁵ grape-vine stems when people become ill. These fetishes must be made with great reverence, and when formed set up by the fireside and worshipped. The prayer then said should be as follows:

"O divine Grape-Vine fetishes, we call upon You ⁷⁸² now because this person is ill--sick nigh unto death. O Ye Grape-Vines, Ye had your origin in Heaven above and Ye did come down from the celestial regions in the beginning. Therefore we call upon You, for when a person is sick it is Your duty, O Ye Honored Ones, to succour him and make him well. In Heaven the soil is of metal and everything growing out of it, whether it be tree or grass, has spirit and life. When made into a medicine and taken, we have been taught that it is Your duty to give strength to those who become sick.' Thus prayed to, the man does worship by way of obeisance in humble attitude. After this some of the grape vine is taken and chopped up very fine. This is heated and then seethed well in hot water, and when cool enough given to the patient to swallow. The actinidia vine is taken in the same way." The poor old fellow told me all this with great reverence and I could see that he believed in it thoroughly and felt better for his clumsy vine ear-rings.

"But," I asked, "do you mean to say that in drink- ⁷⁵⁵ ing the vine decoction, the chips of wood should be ²⁷⁸ swallowed with the liquor?"

RAIN-MAKING AND HEAVENLY BODIES 255

unfortunate, for not attending to their business, and they sometimes in such cases threatened to carry their complaints not only to the Chief God of all, but to the King of Fiends as well, whom they would ask to punish the gods! They do not "hallow" the name of God as they should do. [789]

Another curious mode of producing rain was told me. It was this. "The animals who act as cooks to bears (i.e., racoons), are of a very fiery temper and they hear quickly when addressed, and so it comes to pass that when a person kills one, he presents fetishes to its head and worships it. Thus it is that when men go to the fisheries, they carry the skulls of these animals with them. The purpose is that when the weather is continuously calm, and the fishermen have to work incessantly both by day and by night, they get tired, and long for a spell of rest. When such calms come, they take out their racoon skulls during the night and pray to them. The prayer used is this: "O ye gods, this calm weather is lasting too long. We are very tired. Please send some bad weather so that we may not be able to work." After this prayer has been said, the men throw water hither and thither and over one another, and make merry. If this be properly done, bad storms are certain to follow with rain, and then they get rest and are refreshed. [778]

"As soon as the rough weather begins, they buy whisky, worship and offer libations to the skull which has been so good to them. If they wish the weather to be more severe and to last longer, the men make gloves and caps of racoon and pine-marten skins, put them on and dance. By doing this, the rain and storm requested follow." [782] ●

Rain was also produced by dipping bunches of mugwort in water and sprinkling the ground with it; also by filling the mouth with water and squirting it from the lips.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927

AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXIV

A FIGHT WITH A MARINE DEMON

That many animals and birds were from of old first 262
worshipped by the Ainu and then killed and eaten with 732
due ceremony, and had libations of *sake* offered them 778
and drunk in their honour, and fetishes of wood made
for and set before them, has already been mentioned.
Many kinds of fish, too, were treated to special wor-
ship, as were also the gods and demons of the sea. In
travelling along the coasts of Hokkaidō, even today,
many clusters of fetishes may be seen where the Ainu
push off their boats to go out fishing.

These fetishes are simply shaved sticks with the 778
shavings left attached and depending from the top, and 226
lifted up on high by being tied to poles. These are in
some cases offerings and signs of prayer to the sea
gods, that is to say, to the fish and marine animals. In
some instances they are set up simply as propitiatory
offerings. Some are to the sun, and others are to the
wind and weather sprites. And thus we find religion
and superstition, like the Siamese twins, ever together.

One day, now many years ago, we went to a sea-226
side place called Shiraoi. We took a magic lantern
with us, as I intended to give an exhibition that even-
ing. Arrangements were made to have the show in
the chief's large hut, and due preparations were made.
Toward evening we found it would be impossible to get
the people together, because a large number of the
men, who had gone far out to sea in their boats early
in the morning in order to spear sword-fish, had not re-

226 turned, and the women and children would have to be busy, as soon as the darkness set in, keeping up beacon fires along the shore as guides to the returning boats, and then help their fathers and husbands to land and cut up the fish and carry it home. It was indeed a busy and anxious time with them all.

226 The next morning we went out and soon found that
● 782 the men had been successful. The boats themselves told us that, for when the men have been fortunate enough to spear a sword-fish, they dispose of their fishing tackle in a particular way, and ornament the boats with a number of fetishes. This is done as follows. The boat is drawn a good way up, well out of reach of the tide, the bow being placed facing the sea for relaunching as soon as required. The four oars are then stuck into the ground and tied together in pairs at the upper end and made to lean over the boat so as to form a sort of long tent, one pair of oars being placed at the bow end and the other at the stern. A long pole, which the men use in pushing the boat along through the surf and shallow water, is then laid across them in such a way as to reach from stem to stern. The spears and harpoons, together with the ropes and lines, are laid upon this pole. When this had been done according to custom, Japanese alcohol, called *shōchū* was on this occasion procured, one bottle for each. Then the men worked hard, decapitated the sword-fish and stuck it in the sand by the snout for worship. It seemed to me to be more or less an offering to its own spirit. That done, the creature was cut up and divided out.

226 After the alcohol had been procured and drunk, the
[778] bottles were stuck on the ends of the boat and row-
527 lock pins, and many fetishes made and set about. The sea-gods were thanked for the assistance they had given in procuring such a fine fish, and the fish itself was greatly praised for suffering himself to be caught

CHAPTER XXXVI

ABOUT HUNTING

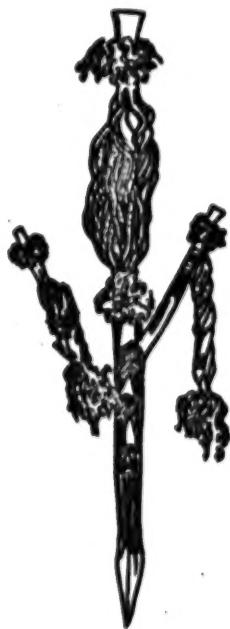
The Ainu men were great hunters, and, although 262
fish and marine animals constituted the staple food,
as a rule they lived largely on meat, bear's flesh and
venison being the most plentiful. Both were greatly
relished. The venison I much enjoyed when I could 600
get it, but I could not endure either the smell or flavour
of Bruin. Chief Penri's wife, Orosia, was looked upon
as a wonderful woman by her people, for when she
was quite a small child she took her father's bow and
arrows and went out and shot a fine deer she dis-
covered feeding near her home. Her brother's name
was Yuk-no-uk, i.e. "The Deer Catcher."

The old Ainu showed great wisdom when select- 312
ing sites for their villages. The first thing they con- 361
sidered was the question of good drinking water. They
would not build unless there was plenty at hand. Close
by Penri's hut there was one of the best springs of
very cold water I have ever come across. The next
thing they thought of was the salmon rivers, along
the banks of which, but not too near, they built their
homes. They seemed to shun the lowlands as being [823]
unhealthy.

One of the chief's brothers was a mighty Nimrod, 224
and, like the other hunters, made poison with which to 278
tip his arrows. The poison I knew him to make was
from the roots of aconite, but, as accidents have some-
times occurred from its use, the authorities forbade its
manufacture. Penri's brother once made some for me
and explained just how it was done. Prayer was to be [722] ●
said at every stage of its production. He told me that

"WILD DANCE," AND WARRING ON TREE 327

and then would come the owl-like cry *weh, weh, weh*. 752
 And they would curse loudly. I came near them and 776
 found they were storming at the evil geni of the tree. 824
 There had been an accident. One of those present told
 me that a man had fallen out of the tree and been
 killed. The people had therefore assembled to perform a
 ceremony they called *Niokeush vorumbe*, i.e., "making



A FETISH OFFERING

war upon the demon tree." After watching for some time, I returned to my lodgings and later in the evening asked for more particular information with regard to this matter. The following lore was then given me.

"Should a person climb a tree and then fall out of it and be killed, or should a person cut down a tree and

[782
778]

BOY SAVES BROTHERS FROM A DEMON 343

when they rose from their beds, they made fetishes for 539
the two wolves and also for the bear god. They wor-
shipped and made new gods of them. And so again [782 •
these newly-made guardian-gods look upon my bro- 778]
thers with special favour. They have already become
more prosperous than ever before. They hunt with
great success and easily make many kills. They take
many skins and galls which they barter at a good price
and so are able to obtain many more treasures and
precious things. They have become far richer than
any of the old inhabitants of Eastern Turu."

624 means 'the doctrine of preservation by trees.' The man who gave me much of the information contained below, when speaking of this, said,

824 "When those hunters who are acquainted with the
224 cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting
782 expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the
fetish cluster, go and select a large tree and worship
its spirit, saying, 'O Thou mighty possessor of the
soil, we have come to kill animals. Please help us. O
see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper Thou
us.' After this has been done they set out, fully ex-
pecting to kill many bears and deer."

This is tree worship in its baldest form, and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree for the time being as their tutelary god or guardian genius. I find, also, that when a person is sick, his friend will sometimes go to the forest and select what he considers to be a good tree or shrub and worship it. He fully believes that if he does this devoutly and in faith, the tree genius will work a cure. Some of the so-called
[137] good trees, i.e. trees willing to help, are the willow, dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle tree, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, lilac, birch, magnolia, yew, ash, cercidiphyllum, azalea, chestnut, mulberry, and a few others.

755 When praying to any of these for the sick, prayers such as the following are said; 'O *Tepochi*, thou divine wise and quick one, make haste and heal this sick person. Thou art the child of *Shiwampe*, the divine one standing upon the earth, and thou wast sent down from heaven in the beginning. Thou art the great and chief tree god. I know thy name and the name of thy father. Thou art the wise one and art very quick. Thou art also a mediator. In thy father's name, O wise one, yea, in the name of *Shiwampe*, I ask Thee to heal him quickly." My friend added,

ON TREE WORSHIP

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"When the men go into the mountains to hunt bears, and are attacked by them, and are in so great danger that they must run, and so seek a way of escape, they are certain to be killed by these animals if they have not been instructed in the cult of the mountains and taught how to worship the demons who inhabit the trees; but if they have been properly indoctrinated with this cult, and are careful to apply what they have learnt at the right moment, there is no danger at all. They always escape, for both gods and demons help them."

One often hears of demon worship in Ainu lore. But it must not be supposed that all demons are devils. The fact is this. The Ainu demons are both good and bad, and the word used bears the same significance as the old classical Greek 'daimon.' In some instances it is an oversoul or guardian angel, and at others an evil, malignant fiend. The context and subject must always be allowed to interpret the sense in which it should be understood. But this by the way. Another friend said,

"The cult of the mountains consists in tree worship, and the worship of the place in which any tree soever may be growing. And so, when a man is chased by a bear, he should rush to a tree, and if he has not time to climb it, he should embrace it with both arms, hugging it very closely, stand perfectly still and whisper to the tree genius thus; 'O thou standing tree, save me. Hide my body.' If this be done, the bear will only come as far as the tree and then go away without seeing the man. Or should the bear come upon him when in the act of climbing a tree, and start up after him, he should say to the tree trunk, 'O precious demon of the tree bark, hasten to save me.' Or should he reach the fork of a tree, he should say, 'O thou demon of tree forks, be brave, and fight for me.' Or if he reach the top of the tree he should say, 'O demon of

- 782 the tree crown, fight for me. Shake off the demon bear.' If these instructions be faithfully carried out, no bear will touch one." On asking what should be done in case of being attacked by Bruin, I received many instructions such as the following.

"Before the animal can reach you, lie down flat on your stomach and don't even breathe till he has smelt you and taken his departure. But whisper into the ground, asking the earth genius to cover you up. Or if a very rotten tree trunk is lying on the ground, get under it and ask the rotting wood demon to carry your scent away." Such are some of the instructions given me on this remarkable cult.

- 137 The ash tree is called Pin-ni by the Ainu and Yachidamo by the Japanese. Its scientific name is *Fraxinus mandshurica*, Pupr. var. *japonica*. It is very plentiful in Hokkaidō. Its habitat extends from 49 degrees N.L. in Saghalien down to the northern part of Honshū in Japan. It is a beautifully growing tree and has a glossy, smooth trunk. A tall, handsome man is sometimes described as a "fine well grown ash tree" by the Ainu.

- 314 In the southern part of Saghalien this tree is found only in the river valleys and damp plains, especially
322 on the western shore where the climate is fairly mild. It is thought much of by the people and its wood is put to various uses. The trunks of the larger trees are often made into river canoes and sea-going fishing boats, the latter having boards fixed on their edges, with strips of bark or vines to keep the salt water out. Boat oars are also made of this wood. Sometimes one meets with mortars used for pounding cereals and producing dough for dumplings, made of this tree. As the wood is very tenacious and the branches lithe, slender and pliable, and therefore easily bent into circles and other forms, the hoop parts of scoop-nets are made of it; also snowshoes, pot-hooks and sleighs. Thus there

778 now present unto Thee. As a return for them and this worship, be Thou pleased to bless us." Such was the prayer I heard, and it was said with great earnestness. Another kind of fetish is named "Fetish with shavings spread out." It is made as an offering to the gods of the mountains, rivers, and sea. When set up, such are saluted and have libation drops of saké offered them. The prayer said at such a time is like this;

- 782 "O gods of the mountains, rivers, and sea, should the people at any time fall sick, condescend to cure them; should food become scarce, favour us with plenty. Ye mighty Ones, ye are great and powerful; therefore we present these beautiful fetishes, which our forefathers taught us to make, to you all. Graciously accept them and rejoice over them." I was informed that some of these things were made for gods near at hand, and others for those supposed to be more remote. One such kind is called "Turning backwards fetish," and I was told this was for such deities as stood between the higher and lower gods and demons. These fetishes may be seen by springs of water, paths, garden plots, precipices, and at times by the fireside. They are for the tutelary gods. I was once asked to join a party which was making them, but declined with thanks. The men were all crowned with rings of shavings, and looked very comical as they sat there peeling sticks.

778 On entering a certain hut in the village one day, I was greatly astonished to encounter a strong evil odour. Upon looking round the place, I soon discovered the cause. The master of the place had a large number of fetishes, big and little, which he called "Little carved birds," set up in many places. These consisted of sticks of elder (supposed to be a tree of evil), shaved downwards instead of upwards, each

823 Their silence also, together with the quiet of the surrounding mountains, all helped to inspire one with a kind of feeling that we were being watched by invisible beings and there was a continuous expectancy as of something, one did not know what, about to happen or be seen. And the silence was, sometimes, according to the place we were in or passing, such as might be felt.

These old Druid-like men were always a source of wonder and speculation with me, and I seemed to catch something of their spirit. We all seemed to have our moods, and our converse was more by look than by word of mouth. Their belief forcibly reminded me, as I sat there quietly in the boat, watching the beautiful scenery or passing rugged, dangerous places, of all one had heard in days of childhood about our own genii and ghouls, jins and ogres, spooks, sprites, elfs and imps, brownies, nymphs, dryads and mermen with their kind, and I thought "Well, after all, the Ainu and our own forebears had much in common." It was all most solemn, interesting and instructive, and I really felt that I was getting a little insight into Ainu psychology. The people were *living* their superstitions, not talking about them, except with hushed voice and reverent demeanour. I contradicted them in nothing, laughed at nothing, and so got to learn much more than I could otherwise have done. Sympathy wins where scorn is bound to lose.

[778] The genius loci of the sources of rivers are called
 787 Pci-ctoh-mat, and this means "Head-water-female."
 It is said to be the special sphere of such to superintend the river sources. These must be worshipped and fetishes made and set up before them. And people must treat them with all honour and be quiet before them. Otherwise vengeance will be taken and the waters dried up.

FRESH AND SALT WATER GENII AND GHOULS 309

In passing along, of course we came to many small tributaries, and I noticed that due respect was also paid to them. This consisted in a simple salutation, with a prayer silently offered. These tributaries were called "Little divine hands" (*Kamui po-iche*). The tutelary genii were named "Divine Daughters" (*Kamui matne-po*). They are supposed to be the children of the goddess of the headwaters. "And," said my informant, "one must never forget that demons dwell there as well as gods."

During our hushed discourse I was told that there are other genii who are called "Females of the water-courses" (*Pet-ru-ush-mat*). These are innumerable and are supposed to watch over whole rivers, from their sources right down to the sea. There is no getting away from them and they have power to communicate with one another. The gods and demons, good and bad, are very much mixed up together, and are ubiquitous.

On passing over an eddy, I was told to be very quiet indeed. And I must be very reverent and not even smile. "But why?" I asked. The reply came, "A ghoulish lives here who is called *Horokariyep*. She is a very short-tempered one and may attack us out of jealousy or spite." The name means "The Sprite who turns back." I hearkened to my teacher, sat quite still, and did not speak. Moreover, I pulled as long a face as possible, which actually made my old boatman laugh. Nevertheless, we got safely over. So also did we negotiate rapids, in spite of the evil spooks inhabiting them.

I found the boatmen appeared to be particularly afraid of a river demon named "Creature of Muddy Places" (*Nuphi-et-guru*). He is a married one, and his wife, who works with him, is called "Female of Muddy Places" (*Nuphi-et-mat*). They are said to dwell near the water's edges and it is they who make the water thick at times. They delight to tear down the banks

823 quently. Unless this is done, the people will suffer,
776 some by getting no fish to eat and others by drowning.

I have written about some of the supposed good and bad creatures (gods and demons) of the sea elsewhere, but there are a few other matters of interest concerning them which have come under my observation and which I think deserve a word or two now. Besides the "Wild Uncle," who has been already spoken of, and the demon described in the chapter on "A fight with the Devil," there is another chief demon of the sea who is called "He who descends upon the calm ocean." His name in the native tongue is *Ko-noto-ran-guru*. When he reveals himself, as he is sometimes supposed to do, he is said to appear in the shape of a very big fish. He has his real home somewhere in mid-ocean. He is of a very evil disposition, frequently stirring up wind and storm and causing wrecks and interfering with the Ainu when out fishing, by driving the fish away and by drowning some of the fishermen. In times of distress he is worshipped, but not on any other occasions. It is very curious to remark that though worshipped, whisky and fetishes are not openly offered him. The reason given is that to offer them openly would incite much envy, jealousy, and anger among the other gods and demons, who desire such things for themselves alone. Nevertheless, some fishermen do now and then secretly make fetishes for him and drink *saké* in his honour. But they keep this very secret.

823 Any abnormal fish, whether it be out of the com-
776 mon in form or colour, is supposed to be a misfortune-
825 giving demon, and when caught is sent back as an
226 offering to the demon of rough weather, whose pro-
782 perty he is supposed to be. We once had a young man staying with us who told me of the following incident, which exactly illustrates this. He said that he and his father, while once out fishing off the coast, caught a

FRESH AND SALT WATER GENII AND GHOULS 300

sea turtle. When they got it on board, they were surprised to find one of its feet whiter than the others. It was an uncanny thing. It was a freak. When they saw this they began to fear. After a time the father declared it to be what he called an *ihonmup*, i.e. "A misfortune-bringing creature." It was a marine ghou. Therefore, after a prayer, he cut off the foot with his big knife, and dropped both it and the turtle back into the sea. In doing so, he called out to the ghou in a loud voice, "O thou demon who dost stir up storms, we now return this thy creature to thee. Take good care of him." In this act the old fellow was sending back to the storm and ill-fortune-bringing demon one of his own offspring as a present. It seemed to me a strangely sarcastic thing to do. But to them it was the right and proper procedure, and no insult was intended.

When one party of fishermen desire to bring down evil upon another enemy party, who may have given offence by poaching on what they regarded as their own preserves, they go directly to this same demon of storms, in prayer, and ask him to punish them. They tell me that he does really hear their requests and either soon sends a storm upon the others, so that some of them drown, or renders them unable to catch the fish, or afflicts them with demonomania. When he sends madness upon them, they are said to waste away gradually in sickness and finally die. This is a threat the rival fishermen hold over one another, and, believing it, they become more careful.

This mighty storm-demon is said to be the ancestor and chief of all the wicked minor sea-sprites. He is their owner and director. All are responsible to him. Such minor demons are, for example, "Those who make the sand fly on the seashore" (*Ota-patchi-guru*), and their wives, for they are said to be a married folk. Then the "Sprite of the big rollers," the "genii of the white horses," with hosts of others.

CHAPTER L

THE BAT OR FLITTER-MOUSE FETISH

I think that which most disagreeably affected me and struck me with the greatest wonder when I visited an Ainu village for the first time, was the weird and unsightly assembly of skulls I found set up outside the east end windows of some of the huts, and the very unsavoury smell and hideous appearance of the heads of birds and some of the smaller animals which I saw placed on trays in the north-eastern angle inside the dwellings. That the Ainu are worshippers of the spirits of departed animals and birds cannot in the face of these things be doubted for a moment, for it is an incontrovertible fact that visitors see, even at the present day, the skulls of bears, racoons, foxes, bats and owls, vultures and eagles, kites, albatrosses and other creatures, such as rats and mice, sparrows and crows, used as fetishes and charms, and on occasion worshipped. Indeed, unless the departed spirits of such things have divine honour and worship paid them, it is thought that the creatures to which they once belonged, or, rather, which formerly inhabited them, will come and bewitch the people who have them, for they expect to be worshipped and look upon it as their right. [224]

On talking to an old Ainu on these matters in general, he said, "When our young men are gone away to hunt or fish, the old men who are left at home procure some *saké*, pour it into a cup, and go and offer libations to the goddess of fire, the ancestral fetish, the fetish cluster, and the skulls. At such times they make many fresh fetishes as offerings, and worship,

782 saying, 'O ye gods, our sons have gone away, and are
778 now wandering hither and thither in pursuit of animals
and fish. We think much of them. Oh, do ye watch
over them and prosper them. Help them in what they
are doing, and bring them safely home.' So do the
old men."

778 I woke up one morning to find the skeleton of a
fitter-mouse or bat resting on one tray close to my
head, and the skull of a racoon on another very near
by. Phew! What a smell! They smelt quite
fusty and musty and in every way disagreeable.
When I got up, I asked the master of the hut what
these things meant and he then gave me the following
lore.

The Ainu name for the bat is *Kaps Kemui*, and this
means, I believe, 'The divine hook-winged.' When
killed, his head and skin are kept wrapped up in fetish
shavings and used as a charm. He is classed among
the birds, and is supposed to be a special defence
against disease and demons in general, like the al-
batross. It is also said that when used as a fetish and
properly and reverently treated, he will make one wise,
which word sometimes, nay, very often, I am afraid,
stands for 'crafty.' The following legend tells how he
once slew a demon of disease by exercising his so-called
wisdom in feigning death, and thereby accounts for
the fact of his being kept as a fetish; for, being very
wise, he is supposed to be able to bestow that quality
on those who keep his skeleton by them.

531 "The divine bat did not come down from Paradise,
825 but was made by God in this world. He is a very
776 precious bird and exceedingly wise. It is said that a
person named Poiyaumbe had a town upon the moun-
tains of Battle River. Now it happened that Poiyaumbe
was continually and in many ways being persecuted
and hard put to it by demons, and this led him to de-
clare war upon them. As he was such a mighty deity,
the demons could not withstand him, for he conquered

226 the figure (1), this spear has two heads to it, which
 227 are fastened to the pole by means of string. These
 heads (2) are barbed, and consist of two parts—an
 iron point (3) and a bone foundation (2). As soon as
 a fish is struck with this spear, the barbed heads come
 off the points of the pole (4), but the fish is secured by
 means of the strings (5) which are attached to the
 spear-heads and back part of the shaft or pole. Figure
 (6) represents a bait or decoy which is drawn along the
 bottom of the river. This bait is nothing but a piece
 of iron wrapped up in blue material bound on with
 white bark. At the end of this is a piece of white bone
 (a), two inches long, which is furnished with a tail (b)
 made of pieces of bark and a red piece of cloth. The
 fish are speared whilst following this bait.

Trout and pike were caught with a spear having
 two heads to it, such as is also used in harpooning
 sharks, whales, swordfish and sea animals. But those
 used for river fishing had decoy or bait attached to
 them, which was drawn along the bottom of the
 streams and rivers, and which the fish would some
 times follow and so be caught.

778 Some of the heads of the salmon were cut off and
 782 fetishes offered them, the killing-sticks also coming
 226 in for their share of the worship. I was informed,
 however, that some of these fish were looked upon
 as evil witches, but I think this particularly applied
 to such of the old ones as had lived their day and were
 shedding their scales immediately before death. They
 were named *ienki-sci-chep*, which Penri said meant
 "small-pox fish," and might not be eaten.

226 During their season large numbers of salmon used
 251 to be taken. Some of them were carried into the
 262 houses fresh and hung up on the rafters where they
 were well smoked. Those taken in the winter were
 tied in pairs and slung over poles to freeze. Some of
 those caught during the bright warm weather of sum-

POSSESSION BY FOXES

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power of speech and the other with powers of a mad-⁵³⁹
man's chatter, who imitates what others may be ⁸²⁵
saying. I then sat down as before and told the lady ⁷⁸⁹
what was happening about the bears. That done, I
made myself a little burrow, furnished it with fetishes,
and waited there, well hidden from view.

"As I sat thus in my burrow, I heard someone
walking *thud, thud, swish, swish, snap, snap, sh, sh*,
through the forest, the sounds varying as the walking
was on dry or damp ground, on withered or green
twigs. He came right up to the house and turned out
to be a great he-bear. As soon as I saw him, I jumped
upon a beam with a mighty howl, which one of the
tree stumps took up and the other imitated like a
madman. At the same time down fell the stumps
right on his back. With a grunt of wrath he turned
and fled. I hastened to re-arrange the two stumps
and had only just finished when along came another
bear, a very old and mighty one. I jumped up as be-
fore, the stumps howled as I had taught them, and
then they fell heavily on his back. He became very
angry and rushed off growling loudly.

"I then retired to my burrow behind the house ⁵³⁹
and stayed there quietly. I soon heard that those two ⁸²⁵
mighty bears went straight to my brothers, five foxes ⁷⁷⁶
in all, killed them and broke up all their bones. At last ⁷⁸²
the master returned with much rice, *saké*, cloth and ⁷⁷⁸
other goods. I heard his wife say to him when they
were sitting by the fire, 'While you were away, six
little brother foxes came twice and used their magical
skill by which they endeavored to steal my soul away.
But thanks to the youngest of them, a very tiny fox,
who is a poor, weakly creature, you now find me alive.
Next they prayed to two great he-bears to help them,
but, thanks again to that little fox, I still live.' When
he heard this, the gentleman was very grateful to me

539 and made many fetishes for me, which he set up in
825 various places.

776 "Thanks to this, I have become a new creature,
strong and well, and big. And I have become his

● 782 guardian angel. When I look down from above and see
778 this fine gentleman, I find that whatever he does, he
does well, and he has become the richest man in the
whole of that district. He has prospered beyond all
others, because I look down upon him with favour."

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REPORT OF NATIONAL MUSEUM, 1890.

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276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick

[413]

[354]

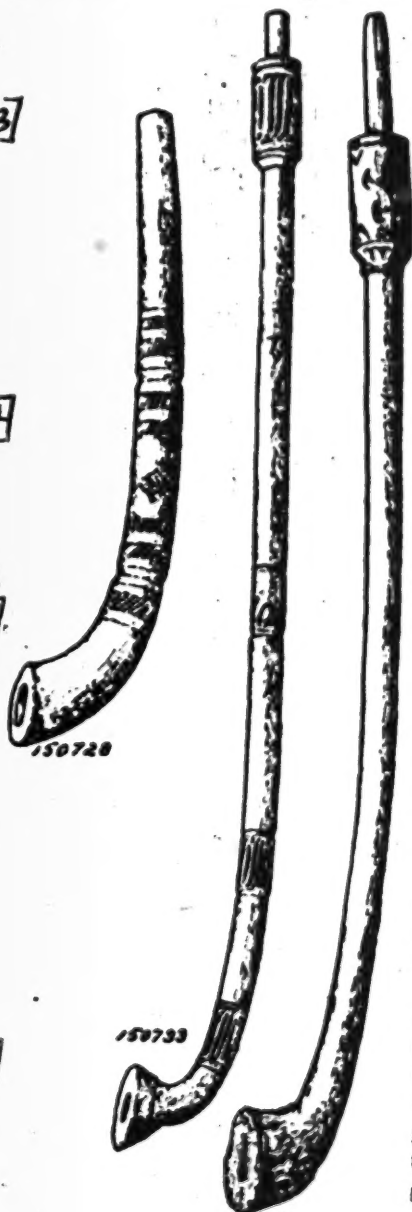
[276
531]

[562]

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796

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FIG. 72.
AINU TOBACCO PIPES.

once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Ainu hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainu consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

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of the hut, where the Aino treasures are kept, and then three drops ²⁷³ must be offered to any special god, for whose benefit the libations are ⁷⁴⁶ offered, or to whom the Aino are paying worship." I have not observed ⁷⁸² any such regularity in their proceedings. I should say they were as likely to offer two or four drops instead of three.

The saké drinking at the great Aino bear feast, as witnessed by Dr. Scheube, is described in the account of that festival.

SMOKING APPARATUS.

The smoking apparatus consists of very simple wooden pipes, and ²⁷⁶ tobacco boxes also of wood, attached with cord to long, carved sticks, which may be stuck in the girdle. Several pipes are shown in Fig. 78. The pipes may or may not have a short mouth-piece of bamboo.

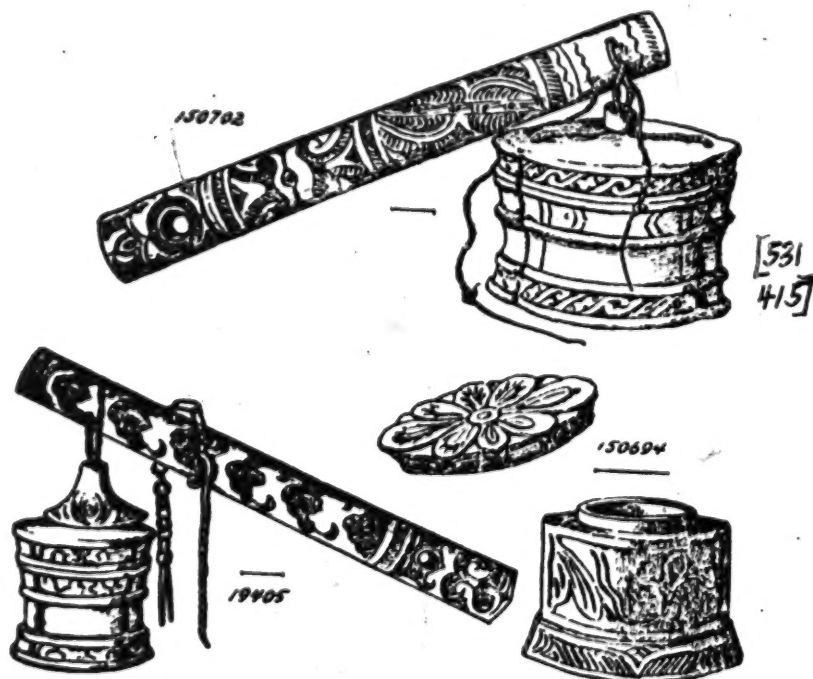


Fig. 78.

TOBACCO BOXES AND STICKS.

The tobacco boxes are usually oval in shape and often very well carved. In Fig. 79 three of these are well shown, attached to their sticks.

796 cherry is used (*Cornus brachypoda*, Jap. *mizu no ki*), while on the oppo-
 778 site side of Volcano Bay, at Mombetsu, and on the east coast of Mukawa
 and south, the willow* is used. These sticks or inao have the same
 meaning as the *gohet* of the shinto temples of the Japanese.

Shavings of the same wood are attached to all sorts of objects, especi-
 ally to such as are used on festive occasions. Inao were placed on the
 796 four corners of the bear cage. In the fire-place, in the middle of the hut,
 an inao was set up. Around the fire-place mats were spread, on which

[782] the company was seated. The host first made an offering of saké to the
 fire god, in which he was followed by the guests. Then another offering
 was made to the house god before the corner sacred to this god.

During the ceremony the Ainu, seated on the mats, first raise the
 drinking cup with the left hand to the forehead, while the right hand
 is somewhat raised with the palm upward. Then the moustache-stick,
 which has thus far rested across the top of the drinking cup (Fig. 77), is
 dipped into the saké and a few drops thrown into the fire, the stick
 being moved several times back and forth above the cup. At the same
 time a prayer is murmured. This ended, the saké is drunk in large
 [413] draughts, while the moustache is held up with the stick. This ceremony
 not only takes place on festive occasions, but is carried out whenever
 saké is drunk. While the gods were receiving their offerings and the
 drinking vessels passed from hand to hand, many greetings were ex-
 changed, and I was again made welcome by a long speech from the
 host.

Meanwhile the woman who had reared the bear was sitting at one
 side, very sad, at times in tears. Her sorrow was certainly not pretended.
 She also presented a drink offering, and two other old women did the
 same. The drinking ceremony of the women is much simpler than that
 of the men. They merely raise the wine cup once before drinking and
 pass the forefinger across the face, under the nose.

[782] After the close of the ceremony in the house, offerings were made
 before the bear cage by the host and others. The bear also received sev-
 eral drops of saké in a shell, which he immediately turned over. Then
 began a dance of the women and young maidens before the cage (Pl.
 CXIV), which continued a long time, with short interruptions. With
 faces turned toward the cage, and slightly bent knees, rising on the
 toes and hopping up, they moved in a circle around the cage, clapping
 the hands and chanting a low, monotonous song of a few words oft re-
 peated. The hostess and a couple of old women,—who may have reared
 many bears,—danced, with tears, and tenderly caressed the bear; but the
 young people laughed and sang. Bruin gradually became aroused by

* I found the willow in almost universal use for inao throughout the greater part
 of the island.—R. H.

[782] † The author is in error here. The *gohet* do not represent the gods. They are
 simply offerings, originally offerings of cloth, now represented by strips of cut paper.
 The inao seem to represent the god. There is no reason to suppose they are in any
 way related to the Japanese symbols.—R. H.

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the noise around him, and began to jump about in the cage and set up ⁷⁷⁶ a mournful howl.

At the same time our attention was directed to another scene before the sacred hedge. The hedge was decorated with five new inao, to which leaves of bamboo were attached. The bamboo leaves signify that the dead bear may again come to life. Perhaps the evergreen color of the leaves, or the indestructible character of the bamboo, has led to its use here. In addition to this, swords and sacred quivers, known as *ikayup* or *ikor-kamui*, were suspended on the hedge. There were also bows and arrows, the latter always three in number, with which the bear was to be shot, and ear-rings and necklaces, to be laid on the bear after death. The men now found another opportunity to drink, and they made their drink-offerings before the sacred hedge. ^[782] This time the Otena, or chief of Oshamambe, made the beginning. Three young men, who afterwards took the bear from the cage, each added two inao. Already there were noticeable signs of the industrious application of the drinking cup, and some men, hilarious with saké, began to dance before the hedge, with their hands raised to heaven to make their happiness known to the gods, and this became more frequent as the feast continued.

The bear was taken out of the cage by the bravest young Aino, assisted by two others. Donning a fine garment owned by the chief, he climbed to the top of the cage and removed the stones and top logs, and threw a rope around the neck of the bear. With this the bear was drawn out of the cage and led around for a time, that he might once more enjoy a sense of freedom before his death. Then he was made a target for the archers and shot with arrows which, instead of the pointed heads, bore blunt wooden ends decorated with bits of red cloth (Plate CXV).

Next the bear was taken before the sacred hedge, a piece of wood placed in his mouth, and he was crushed to death in a manner shown in the Japanese illustration (Plate CXVI). The poor animal died without a groan. The women danced around, with lamentations, and struck the men to manifest their indignation at such cruelty. The skin was then cut in the middle line of the belly. The bear was laid on a mat before the hedge, the sword and quiver from the latter hung about him, and food and drink were offered. A female bear is also decorated with necklaces and ear-rings. The food consisted of a plate of millet mush, another of millet cake made in the same manner as the Japanese *mochi*, with fish-oil poured over it, a can of saké with drinking cup, chopsticks and moustache-stick, the latter provided with spiral shavings.

The men then seated themselves before mats spread before the bear (Pl. CXVII), each with his drinking set before him, and began to make libations of saké and to drink unlimited quantities. It is the custom for the chief to begin this drink-offering, but he yielded the honor to the oldest man present. This man made the offering before the bear in ^[782]

776 the same manner as above described, using the drinking apparatus
[782] which was set before the bear. The others followed, and soon a good portion of the company was lying helplessly drunk upon the mats. The older men far excelled the younger in excessive drinking.

Turning now to the women, the sorrow which they, especially the older women, manifested when the bear was crushed, soon passed off and gave place to general hilarity which, since they did not despise the saké, increased at times to ecstasy. They gave themselves up to the pleasures of the dance, in which only short breathing spells were allowed.

The older women showed themselves the more vigorous and wildest dancers.

Meanwhile the feast had reached its height, and the young men who had led the bear from the cage, mounted to the roof of a house in order to throw millet cake from a basket among the people.

The bear is usually cut up on the following day, when the company again assembles to continue the drinking bout. After the animal is skinned and disemboweled, the legs and trunk are separated from the head, which remains in the skin. One of the young Ainu acted as butcher, while the others stood or sat around. The blood was caught by these in cups and greedily drunk. The liver was taken out, cut in small pieces, and eaten raw with salt. The flesh and other entrails were preserved in the house, to be divided among the participants in the feast on the following day. During this work the women danced around the sacred hedge, as they did around the cage at the beginning of the feast.

The bear's head, within the skin, was placed before the hedge and decorated in the same manner as the body was adorned before, one inao being added, and a general drink-offering was made. At the end of this the skin was drawn from the skull, leaving such as adheres to the snout and ears. In the left side of the back skull-bone of male bears, in the right side of females, an opening is made, through which the brains are removed. These are divided in the cups, mixed with saké, and drunk. The skull is then filled with shavings. The eyes were taken out and the orbital fat was bitten off and eaten by the young butcher. The eyes were wrapped in shavings and returned to their sockets. The mouth was stuffed with bamboo leaves and the skull decorated with shavings. The skull was again returned to the skin, and both, with sword, quiver, inao, and the piece of wood which the bear held in his mouth when he was crushed, were laid before the hedge. After another drink-offering the skull was raised upon a pole in the hedge, (Fig. 88,) which terminated in a forked end, and the entire company of men and women, singing and crying, danced before it. The pole had also an inao on either side of its upper forked end, and bamboo leaves attached. Beneath the skull, the piece of wood from the bear's mouth was fixed crosswise, and from it the sword and quiver were suspended.

[782] The two latter are usually removed in the course of an hour. A final

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481 A

drink offering, in which the women also took part with renewed weeping, completed the ceremony. The manner of placing the head on the pole is shown in Fig. 88, which is copied from Dr. Scheube's drawing. The general appearance of the hedge is best seen in Plate CXII.

In the short account of the mythology and folk-lore of the Ainos given further on, there are some bear stories which are of interest in connection with the ceremonies described, indicating how the Ainos regard the animal in its relations to themselves. As Dr. Scheube has said, the bear is more to them than a mere beast of the forest, to be hunted and killed for food and raiment.

The Ainos are not the only people who worship the bear in the manner described above. In the northern part of Saghalien there are a people quite distinct in their physiognomy and language from the Ainos known as the Gilyaken.* Mr. W. Joest observed a bear feast among the Gilyaken, the description of which, as quoted by Dr. Scheube in a later communication, is substantially as follows. The mother bear is shot and the young one is caught and reared, but not suckled in the village. When the animal is large enough he is bound with a thong around the neck and another on one of his hind legs, and then led in triumph through the village. He must enter every house, where he receives food, while his manner of entrance and conduct are observed as omens. The bear is then for a time provoked, tormented, and annoyed until he is enraged and furious. The animal is then secured to a stake and shot dead with arrows. The head is then cut off and decorated with shavings corresponding to the inao of the Ainos, and placed upon the table upon which the feast is spread. The people then beg his forgiveness and offer prayers to him. They then eat the flesh roasted (not raw, as do the Ainos, nor do they drink the blood) with schnapps, but without any ceremonies. Finally the brain is eaten and the skull is placed with the shavings in a tree near the house. Then follows dancing by both sexes in imitation of bears.

DANCES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

Allusion has been made here and there to singing and dancing. Dr. Scheube has given an account of the dances he saw, but it has not seemed

* See Reisen und Forschungen in Amur-lande, Dr. L. Von Schrenck, vol. III, for an exhaustive account of these people.



FIG. 88.
THE BEAR'S SKULL ON THE SACRED HEDGE.

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G
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573 I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

527 I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—in sign of salute, to the host, Benry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance, called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

798 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
 799 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a *kamui*,
 796 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
 [554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all *kamui*
 are objects of worship.

825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively zoölogical. There
 776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
 782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
 191 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "*kamui*."
 Beast and *kamui* are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak,
 Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate
 between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man
 who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu,
 in addition, see a *kamui* in each beast as such. But, like the
 Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of
 offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "*mas-
 ters*"; of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are
 called *kamui* (in the sense of "*master*"), with the appellation
 of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-
 kamui* ("*master of the mountain*"), *atui-kamui* ("*master of
 the sea*"), *toy-kamui* ("*master of the subterranean world*"),
chup-kamui ("*master of the sun*"), etc.

796 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends
 are the "*masters*" of the mountain and sea, who supply them
 with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals.
 These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "*master*"
 of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a
 real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his
 fellow-tribesmen.

The "*master*" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The
 cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described
 in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.²

² Here and throughout this article the words "*master*" and "*mistress*" are
 used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khosyain*
 (literally, "*proprietor of a house*"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed pro-
 prietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do,
 respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are
kamui ("*masters*"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

³ See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh
 177 the most important part,—more in word, however, than in fact,—seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

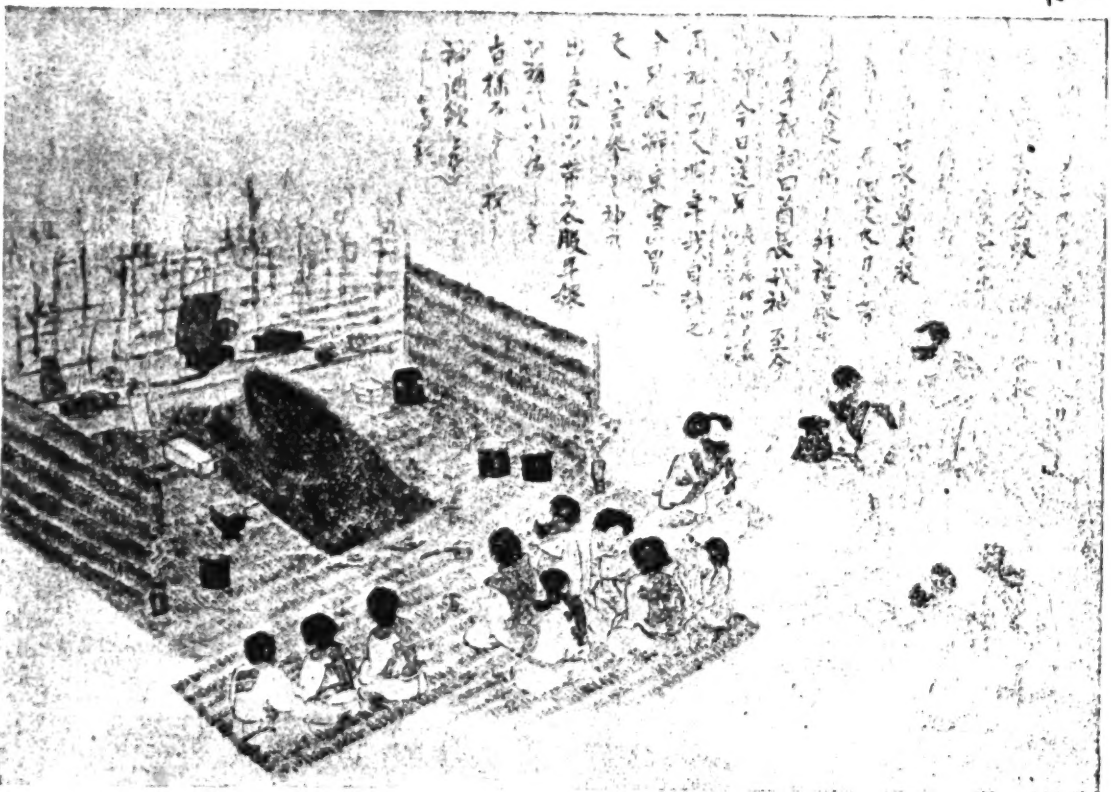
776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut—*yurta*—(*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.

776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the
 756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar
 782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent

deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

[778] 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destinations. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1-4). The usual material is willow-wood; less frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark



OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD BEAR.

[Facing p. 480 (c)]

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU

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778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided
tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which
represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersome-ness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa*; and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

779 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau*, and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau*, inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau*, inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

778 fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is
 779 an *apa syat un inau*; over the bedstead are suspended here and
 ● 780 there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern
 side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in
 front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy
 prayers. And further, wherever one turns,—on mountain,
 on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-
 summits, in cemeteries,—everywhere, large inau, of most
 varied forms—to the “master” of the mountain (Plate XXXIV,
 Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter,
 bear, seal, etc.—are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau*, which are regularly set up at
 a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year,
 and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones
 are carefully stored up in special sheds.

778 But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that
 782 particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt,
 [224] inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the
 heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV,
 Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers,
 if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A
 systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be
 said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the
 Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end
 of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science
 is attained.

771 This odd cult¹ has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring
 771 people of the Amur region,—the Gilyak, the Oroch, the Gold,
 and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found
 nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,¹
 an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but
 with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

778 3. Two questions are to be cleared up,—What is the pur-
 114 pose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquir-
 ers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for
 several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

¹ A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU

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in them "mere offerings," and again "genuine fetiches."¹ Mrs. BIRD, who has travelled among the Ainu, considers the inau to be domestic deities. 798
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An entirely peculiar opinion is held by the Russian observer, Dr. M. M. DOBROTVORSKI, who lived among the Ainu on Saghalin in the seventies, and wrote a dictionary of the Ainu language. He maintains that the inau are but effigies, *substitutes for human sacrifices*, which, according to the Ainu themselves, were once performed, and are even now in use among some of their tribesmen.² [782]
[532]

This hypothesis contradicts the facts. In the first place, it must be pointed out that on a whole line of inau—as, for example, on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1—there are no notches at all. Further, a whole line of inau consists of shavings alone, without a suggestion of human figures. On many which have notches, as on Fig. 2, these notches, as stated by the Ainu, denote parts of the face,—the eyebrows, eyes, mouth, and nose. But even in the case of such figures as those seen on Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3 and 4, where the middle portion stripped of bark might be interpreted as the abdomen, the notches happen to be just above and below that part, and cannot, at any rate, represent the cutting-open of the belly. In reality, on these figures, the upper notch denotes the mouth; the two lower, the navel and sexual organs. On some inau the middle, planed part is even pointed out by the Ainu as the face. Thus Dobrotvorski's hypothesis falls *per se*. 798
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¹ [This was formerly the opinion of Batchelor, which, however, he has given up and partly revised in his new book *The Ainu and Their Folklore* (London, 1901, pp. 96 et seq., pp. 110 et seq.); compare also the critical remarks on the subject by Cl. E. MARRAS (*Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. II, p. 216; Vol. III, p. 126). Batchelor is now also of the same opinion as the author of this paper, that there are inau acting as "mediators or messengers, whose spirits pass between men and the various deities." The fact that these two authors were independently led to this result seems to me a very remarkable coincidence; but there can be no doubt that Dr. Sternberg went far beyond Batchelor in the elucidation of the question.—EDITOR.]

² *Aino-Russian Dictionary*, Supplement, p. 65; also Introduction, p. 43. Kasan, 1875.

778 The
124 Ainu tells this deity¹ his wants, and he will convey them to the
779 kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that
776 of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and
all of them help the Ainu."—"And how can a little stick
talk?"—"It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells
all to the kamui. Why, even a tree—that, too, has a soul."

778 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had
774 had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu,
and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau* is not a deity,
nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,
—a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of con-
veying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to
the gods.

778 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon
776 any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen,
782 even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mys-
terious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true,
as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu
pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the
eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift
up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are ad-
dressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before
the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them,
various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are
hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather
their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*,
denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, val-
uables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau.
And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men,
but not by deities.

778 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in
182 the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without
789 them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satis-
fied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru*, "a
man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

[463]
[554] ¹ Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to
individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in
affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

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[93] ("sacrifice"); — and, the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's tongue."

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171 Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, *inau* are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

[532] In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the *inau*, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an independent importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence *inau* began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

PREFACE

114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual
 774 essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the
 776 god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or
 824 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some
 kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are
 more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes.
 Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit,
 all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *hamui*-spirits. . . . In the
 country of the *hamui* they take human form . . . and live as human
 beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as
 trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as
 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *hamui*.
 According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable
 matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant
 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

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 825 With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpreta-
 776 tion is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe
 that all animals are *hamui*, but that there are good and bad animals
 of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes,
 ● [782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained
 by appealing to their *hamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad
 subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials,
 104 palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g
 (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I
 have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency
 have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision,
 I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the
 village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cul-
 tural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their techno-
 logy. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after considera-
 tion of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the
 conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part
 of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on
 Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House',
 compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in
Man, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

I

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IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to describe any aspect of Ainu life without reference to ritual practices. The Ainu were, and many still are, saturated with animistic beliefs and these beliefs lead them to have recourse to ritual on so many occasions that some understanding of their relations with the spirit world is necessary for an adequate description of any aspect of their life. Social organization, hearth and home, hunting and fishing, festivals, disease, psychic ailments, medicines, birth, death and funeral observances—all demand some special reference to religious and magical procedures. To the Ainu all life is based on established beliefs, most of which involve supplication to the spirit powers in which they trust. In the present chapter I shall deal with these fundamental ideas, and follow this with a brief description of the usual methods of securing good will and help while reserving for later chapters details of particular rites designed to assist the good spirits in resisting evil. 771

The Ainu have no priesthood; the head of the family carries out the traditional ritual, and the home is the place of worship. 782

Three Ainu words indicate the main features of Ainu religion: *ramat*, *kamui* and *inau*. The significance of the two former is somewhat variable, but the first always, and the second usually, refers to invisible spirit powers. The third, *inau* (offering), is a hand-made object, a stick to which shavings are attached. It is made as an offering to a *kamui* (god or spirit), and is itself sacred. There is a great variety of these *inau*; they play an important part in Ainu life and ritual and will be described in detail later. A group of these 793
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such a state a person, though breathing, is said to be *ramat sak* (without soul).

The Ainu speak of evil spirits as casting no shadow, but the reason is that they are themselves supposed to be shades of gloom. I have not met anyone who believes that a person's shadow be-tokens *ramat*.

We now come to the *hamui*, under which term are included not only the deities of the Ainu pantheon but numerous independent spirits of lesser degree. The term may also be applied to anything remarkable, incomprehensible or even exceptionally beautiful, as we might speak of 'divine beauty'. In its context the word can usually be understood without difficulty. Like human beings, *hamui* are loosely classified as good or beautiful (*pirika*), bad or hostile (*wen*), and mischievous but not always malevolent (*koshne*). There are also spirits which may be called insouciant *hamui*, neither good nor bad in themselves, which if properly treated may help the good *hamui* in their task of repelling or expelling the 'evil spirits' (as I shall translate *wen hamui*) which seek to harm the Ainu.

Apart from these evil spirits, it is a fixed belief that indifferent or even good *hamui* may take umbrage at inconsiderate treatment. The Ainu estimate the powers of the *hamui*, whether good or evil, largely by their own standards, but most elders are agreed that the thoughts of the *hamui* are not quite the same as human thoughts. As my informant, the aged Rennuikesh Ekashi, observed: 'They have thoughts to themselves' (*yaikoshiram*). Formerly every care was taken not to hurt the feelings of good *hamui*. Deep reverence was paid to most of them and provocation was guarded against by strict taboos. Even the deadly *hamui* of pestilence, and especially of smallpox, against which the good *hamui*, even when assisted by magico-religious rites, were unable to operate successfully, were usually treated with respect; to speak of them as evil spirits was to evoke more wrath and frightfulness. These spirits were also known as punishing (*pakoro*) *hamui*, and in most places no attempt was made to resist their attacks. They were merely pleaded with and placatory offerings were made to them. Evil *hamui* could as a rule be restrained by the good ones, backed by magical rites, but even so, inducements to quit sometimes were, and still are, held out to them. Certainly in the case of good *hamui* the rule was to treat them with reverence tinged with awe (*oripak*).

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[796] In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.¹

776 To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

774 *Kamui* operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one 776 closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *matwe*. In prayers soliciting help against 782 evil spirits I have found *matwe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency 787 employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

756 Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.² The rites which they perform, and the nature

[776] ¹ The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirhap* and the *siam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[787] ² In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

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of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.¹ A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,² sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.³ It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

¹ It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

² Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Ainu, Vol. 1, pp. 239-52.

³ It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called *Chikapipenta-ekashi* amba *Kamui* was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40-1).—H.W.

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776 a very large stone circle, or rather oval, which may have been
821 connected with solar worship. In most districts the sacred window

[342] is still oriented to the rising sun. Through it the *kamui* communicate with the revered spirit of the hearth, Kamui Fuchi, who is supreme over the Ancestral Host. Until recently no one was supposed to

[533] cross the rays of sunshine visiting the hearth. An old song, handed down from his ancestors to the aged Rennuikesh, praises the

• [782] arrows of light of Rikoma Kamui, the God on High. In the north an *inau*, set up as an offering to the sun, bears an incised outline

[778] of its orb. In the south, on rare festival occasions, an *inau* such as is offered only to *kamui* of the highest standing is set up to the sun, and he is given libations and praise. A few elders still salute the sun, but I am told that this was formerly considered necessary.

[825] There is some evidence that stars were associated with *kamui*; at the great festival when a bear is killed ritually the name of a star or star group connected with the Bear constellation is given to the spirit of the slain bear—Chinukara-guru (Visible Person). I am told that formerly some elders were versed in star lore, but few names have been recorded. The Milky Way is Pet Noka (River Likeness), which corresponds to the Japanese 'River of Heaven'.

[778] Among the sacred treasures (*ikoro*) of the Ainu are small replicas of quivers bearing representations of the sun and stars, and sometimes of the moon. These occupied a sacred position on the north or north-east of the dwelling, and were regarded as exercising some mysterious talismanic influence. Sometimes the heavenly bodies were of inlaid copper foil and were called 'shining things' (*tombe*), though they were scrupulously left unburnished lest they lost the virtue left by 'the touch of a vanished hand', now with the Ancestral Host.

[789] I am told by Nisukrek-guru that in the event of an untoward happening from above, such as a landslide or heavy fall of volcanic ash, Nochiu-pe-ran Guru (Star-descending Person) was besought to make it cease.

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A-e-oina Kamui, sometimes called Oina Kamui for short, must be included among the high gods. Batchelor has pointed out that *oina* refers to old lore and that the name of this deity implies a teacher, but it is questionable whether he is right in concluding that 'Aioina was some great person who in very ancient times acted as instructor to these people'. There are various myths about his

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descent from the sky with his spear of magic mugwort which no enemy could withstand.¹ Perhaps identical with him is Okikurumi Kamui, who shares most of his mythical achievements as pristine teacher of the arts of life, and is the hero of legendary fights against evil spirits and wicked men. The name Okikurumi has been thought to be of Japanese origin, but need not be. Tales about both describe them as wrapped in a cloud of smoke or mist in which they are usually invisible but which sometimes opens for a moment to show a person with tongues of flame rising to his sword belt. This refers to a myth of origin from Kamui Fuchi, goddess of fire. The flames do not burn, but merely indicate the virtue of the *kamui*. Whatever name be assigned to him he is not, so far as I know, worshipped as an ancestor, though venerated as a teacher and occasionally offered *inau* and libations at big celebrations. The various myths of origin are not quite consistent, but all are agreed that he returned to the sky after his task of teaching the Ainu was accomplished. One of the finest of Ainu dances, performed only by women, represents the coming of A-e-oina Kamui. With arms raised high and gracefully waving they sing—'*Hi eranna, Kamui eranna. Hi eranna, to-o-eranna*': 'Yes, he descends, the god descends. Yes, he descends, yonder he descends.'

It should be added that most of the *pase kamui* are believed to have descended from the sky and will return there in fullness of time, but these beliefs are nebulous, and vary from place to place. The only trace of actual star worship I have found is that at the festival of Falling Tears there is secret worship of four deities and among them is one called Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat, which means 'the woman above the high clouds or above the way of the clouds, divine wife'. I have not ascertained whether this refers to a star or a constellation.

¹ According to one myth he came down to Ainu-land when Kotan-kara Kamui created it (Kintaichi, *Study of the Ainu*, p. 211), and according to another he is identical with Kotan-kara Kamui (for Kotan-kara see footnote p. 12). In three or four versions of his myth he is said to have been born on earth to the elm-tree spirit, his father being some cosmic phenomenon such as the sun or thunder (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*).—H.W.

THE KAMUI

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul *nusa* (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window.

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress¹ and ruler of all departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui* is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its *ramat* is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Under-world under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest. She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and Uri Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

¹ *Ehushi, Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother. As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women, Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes Munro's use of *ehushi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the
 [372] fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and
 [774] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

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 778 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui* have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them. That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all. The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

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 [552] The name Nusa-koro Kamui¹ is really an epithet, as are nearly all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names, which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*, are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but
 [795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and
 [778] of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is
 • [782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] ¹ According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-insu-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.¹ As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*murukuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in

¹ In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

776 the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given
 • 782 in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred
 778 to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba
 Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the
 chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the
 hash [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity
 1776 based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-
 [1773] range Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-
 [372] piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some
 protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a
 relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the
 prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects
 [842] the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes
 [787] solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions
 with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along
 [782] which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is
 [778] called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to
 the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made
 here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river)
 Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually
 regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the
 [782] same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with
 [769] ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is
 [778] Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which
 appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut
 [844] Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All
 the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

776 There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or
 823 representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions
 in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control
 the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of
 the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows
 deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-
 rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest
 depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-
 koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth).
 Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual,
 and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

776 We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called
 [782]

THE KAMUI

subsidiary *kamui*, and which are invoked after prayer to Kamui Fuchi and (often) Nusa-koro Kamui. [776] [732] •

Apa-sam (beside the entrance) Kamui does sentry duty on both sides of the door, keeping out evil spirits. Though not high ranking he is important, and receives offerings at certain ceremonies. This *kamui* is said to be both male and female and may be regarded as either a dual *kamui* or a pair. [722]

Outside the house, on the south and west respectively, are the seats of two *kamui* who are said to be servants of Kamui Fuchi. One is Mintara-koro (possessor of the precincts) Kamui, who guards the approaches to the house. Some Ainu of my acquaintance say that this is also a pair of *kamui*. In most areas this *kamui* still plays a part, though in the north I was told that the guarding is done only by the house dog.

The second is Ru-koro Kamui, the *kamui* of the male privy (the female privy has no *kamui*) who is also regarded by some as a pair of spirits. He is associated with ideas of expulsion and evacuation and is regarded as powerful.¹ This may be because odours keep off evil spirits; rank-smelling herbs are held to be magically effective for this purpose. [514] [789]

It may be noted that although *pase kamui* and those represented in effigy are mostly unisexual, the lower-ranking spirits, including evil spirits, are usually epicene, or dual spirits of opposite sex.

The fourth class of *kamui* are the theriomorphic *kamui*. All animals have *ramat* but not all are *kamui*. Some of the animal *kamui* are good and others bad, and there are Ainu who profess to be able to distinguish those of the same species by some difference of colour or marking. Thus, a black fox (Shitumbe Kamui) is nearly always good but has a special earmark if entirely reliable. Similarly, a red fox is usually unreliable, but certain features are reassuring. Animal *kamui* whether good or bad can take human or other forms; this is called *ish-iri katande* (putting on body shape). In the tales known as *uebekere* bears, wolves, foxes and other animals change shape and perform wonderful feats. [776] [825]

There are evil bears (*wen-yuk*), man-eaters, and others of wrathful disposition who attack men savagely in the wilds. They are evil

¹ Ru-koro Kamui is invoked to exercise his powers of expulsion. The idea of the magical quality of faeces themselves, as of hair, nails and body dirt, if present at all, is not accentuated.—B.Z.S.

By loose

THE KAMUI

analogy the long claw and net coming forth from the body form a combination capable of instilling confidence in women during difficult labour. And the spirit of a fresh-water crab, called Ametan-ne Mat, whose 'metal' (hard) claws are believed able to extract the baby, is frequently invoked in childbirth after prayer to Nusakoro Kamui. Finally we may mention Hai-o-Pira Kamui, who receives *inau* and libations from many Ainu in this district. It is the 'sword' of the swordfish (*pirikap*), a formidable monster up to twelve feet long, the harpooning of which is one of the most exciting episodes in the marine life of the Ainu.

The fifth class, spirit helpers and personal *kamui*, includes the skulls of certain *kamui* in animal form. These may be mammals, birds or turtles. The skulls are smoked, cleaned and partly wrapped in cupled shavings (*inau kihe*), which are also stuffed into the cranial cavity, eye sockets and mouth. The shavings must be cut from a fresh branch of willow, the tree of life, and Kamui Fuchi must be invoked to give efficacy to the *ramat* of the shavings. These objects are called *shirathi kamui*¹ and act as spirit protectors (*epungine kamui*). They may be hung in the house on the north wall or stored in boxes, and may be carried on a journey to give protection to the traveller. It is most important that they should not be contaminated by evil spirits. Should the householder or some elder have an ominous dream which throws suspicion on a *shirathi kamui* it must be dismantled and discarded. The same precaution is taken with other artificial objects, *inau* or effigies made to retain *ramat*. The bad omen is taken as a warning from Kamui Fuchi.

For *shirathi kamui* the skull of a good fox is favoured. This is useful for augury as well as protection. The lower jaw is carefully detached, Kamui Fuchi is invoked, and the skull is then placed on the head of an elder. Should it fall teeth uppermost when the head is inclined it means 'yes', otherwise 'no'. Many variants of this simple expedient are employed by Ainu. The libation and prayer stick, commonly spoken of by Europeans as a moustache-lifter, is full of *ramat* and is employed in the same manner.

In this district people are too much in awe of the eagle owl to use it as *shirathi kamui*, but two sea-birds, one large and the other small, both called *ibe-rusi chikap*, food-desire birds, are used. So

¹ In the Saru Basin, which was Munro's main field, *Shirathi Kamui* is said to be the deity of the albatross. The fox is called Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui.—H.W.

III

THE INAU

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[776]
[782] **R**AMAT is to be regarded as power or purposive ability. Whether generalized as active or quiescent power or regarded as the attribute of an individual spirit, it is always credited with some degree of conation. This may be equal to that of man but is less in animals and plants. Even moulds and lichens possess a small quantity of *ramat*. Wood is specially credited with *ramat* from the great soul or spirit of Shiramba Kamui. To the Ainu nothing is more effective for protection against evil and the promotion of welfare than living wood. Hence the importance of the *inau* with their beautiful curls shaven from living wood. When they take shape at the touch of a knife in an expert hand they seem instinct with life.

774
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778 *Ramat* is embodied in the various types of *inau* appropriate to each of the high *kamui*, who are invoked and given service at all ritual celebrations. These have mostly come under my direct observation and study, and those I describe may, I think, be accepted as representative. Should it be thought that I give too many details, I must plead that I have tried to record material which if not now recorded will be lost, as it is rapidly vanishing.

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[532] *Inau* have been described as whittled sticks, but they are very much more. They are mostly solid stems of wood which, according to thickness, resemble batons or wands. Early in this century I came across positive evidence that many *inau* are stylized effigies of human beings and that they originated as receptacles for ancestral *ramat*. Whether they were ever substitutes for human sacrifice is an open question, but I am disposed to think that some are, at

THE INAU

any rate, substitutes for the clay figures which occur in sites of the neolithic Ainu. 782
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[769]

Many *inau* embody ancestral *ramat*, and all are credited with superhuman power of some kind, whether derived from the ancestors or from the spiritual potency of impressive natural phenomena. Even in the latter case, whether from a wish to flatter or from assimilation to the predominant ancestor worship, prayers to nature spirits such as Shiramba Kamui or Wakka-ush Kamui often include the term Kamui Ekashi (Spirit Ancestor).

The supernatural power vaguely but confidently attributed to *inau* is extended to the detached curled shavings (*inau kike*) which, if not actually representing hair or garments, are often thought of as such, and are largely used for protective purposes.

Inau are also regarded as messengers (*shongo-koro guru*) or intermediaries between the Ainu and the *kamui* or, perhaps more accurately, between the *kamui* themselves. Kamui Fuchi, whose theophany is living fire on the hearth, may be supplicated with or without offerings of *inau*, but she is usually looked upon in this and other southern districts of Hokkaido as the mediator between gods and men. Many elders maintain that the *inau*, libations and food assigned to other *kamui* come to them through Kamui Fuchi.¹

Inau are by far the most acceptable offerings to good *kamui*. Formerly alcoholic drink was offered only on special occasions, including communal festivals, but *inau* were, and still are, offered at any time when soliciting or thanking spirit powers.² An old revered instruction (*upashkoma*) says that *inau* beautify the land and gratify the gods. Some of them are really beautiful when made by experts. The use of the left hand in making them is forbidden, as displeasing to the *kamui*. *Inau* are never made or offered during funeral rites. [764]

Inau were formerly amassed out of doors at the locations set apart for different *kamui*. In particular, the winged (*shutu*) *inau*,

¹ These ideas are also found in the Topakchi region in the north-east. It was believed that the rituals and prayers were not understood by the deities for whom they were performed until they had been explained by Kamui Fuchi. They then accepted the offerings of *inau*.—H.W. [184]

² *Inau* were divided into two categories: *kamui-nomi inau* which were offered to the deities, and *Shimurapa inau* which were offered to the ancestors on the occasion of the ancestral cults. At every *kamui-nomi* (ritual for deities) *inau* were the most important and essential offerings, and they were never offered without due performance of the ritual.—H.W. [229]

THE INAU

- 782 which represent the ancestors, used to accumulate till they formed banks several feet thick. In this region one does not see such quantities, but in the north, at Pihoro in the province of Kitami, and elsewhere, I saw them crowded together in great masses, evidently the accumulation of years. Certain varieties of winged *inau* are anthropomorphic and rank as minor or subsidiary *kamui* in virtue of their concentrated *ramat*. Most of these embody spirits which specialize in counteracting injurious magic. A few exercise somewhat wider functions, and one, Chisei-koro Kamui (house possessing Kamui) is a permanent inmate of the house and is revered as second only to Kamui Fuchi.

- 824 About fifteen kinds of tree are used in making winged *inau* for good *kamui* and three or four for the *inau* of evil spirits. First and foremost comes the willow, used only for good *kamui*. For special purposes, or because a willow is not at hand, trees of good repute, such as lilac, dogwood, oak or magnolia, are sometimes used.¹
- 778
- 782
- [826] According to tradition, the human backbone, which is regarded as the seat of life, was originally made of a willow branch. This may be because it is supple, or because its shavings form the most sprightly curls. Elders are so convinced that the willow is the tree of life that winged *inau* made from it are regarded as backbones for *ramat*.

The *shutu inau* have flaps cut on the stems, known as wings (*rap*),

¹ *Shutu inau* may be made from the following trees:

- (a) Willow (*nusu*) always when at hand, unless a special property, e.g. durability, be a desideratum.
- (b) Lilac (*pungaum*) is used for some large *shutu inau*, and hand-made *kamui* bodies of the same design, where lasting protection is called for.
- (c) Dogwood (*utuka-mi*) is a good wood, also two kinds of magnolia.
- (d) *Push-mi*.
- (e) *Opha-mi*.
- (f) *Phellodendron amurense* (*shiherebo-mi*), is valued for a particular purpose.
- (g) Two kinds of oak (*tun-mi*), a true oak, and *pero*, which has a leaf like a 'chestnut oak'. Both of these are still besought for easy childbirth or other protection.
- (h) An ash tree (*pimi*), though not much used for *inau*. For *wen inau* of *shutu* form, and for special defensive *kamui*, trees of ancient magic repute or having magic odour, such as *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-mi*), and bird-cherry (*hiki-mi*).

The thorn-bearing *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* (*aiush-mi*) and elder are used for *shutu kamui* bodies and also for switches (*sakusa*) (see *epiru*, Chapter IX). Poplar (*yami*) is said to be offered as a bribe to Pauchi Kamui.—N.B.M.

In the original text *Acanthopanax ricinifolium* was given as *Kalapanax ricinifolium*, but as this could not be identified in botanical works it has been presumed to be the former plant.—B.Z.S.

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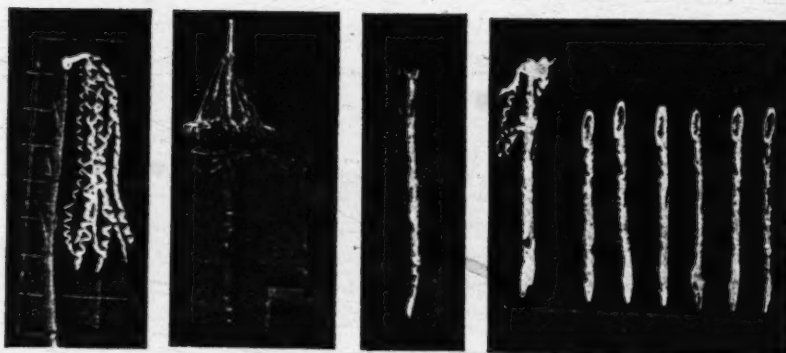


Fig. 1. *Shuts inau*.
Fig. 2. *Shirikura inau*.
Fig. 3. *Inumba inau*, the beer-straining inau.
Fig. 4. Group of *un inau* with their leader.

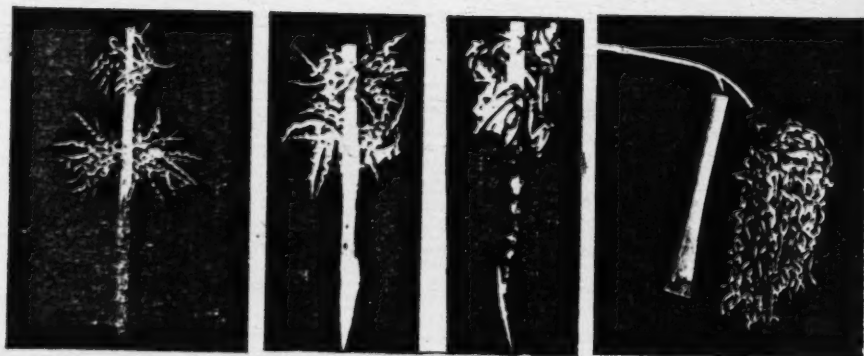
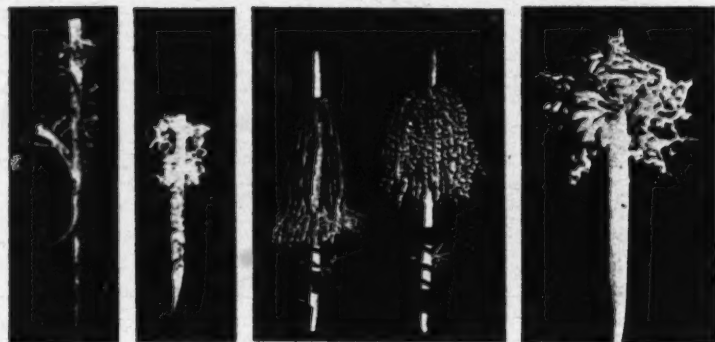


Fig. 5. Ordinary backward shaven inau (*chikoro-kakep*).
Figs. 6 and 7. Backward shaven inau for Kinashut Kamui.
Fig. 8. Inau from Japan.

PLATE II. INAU.

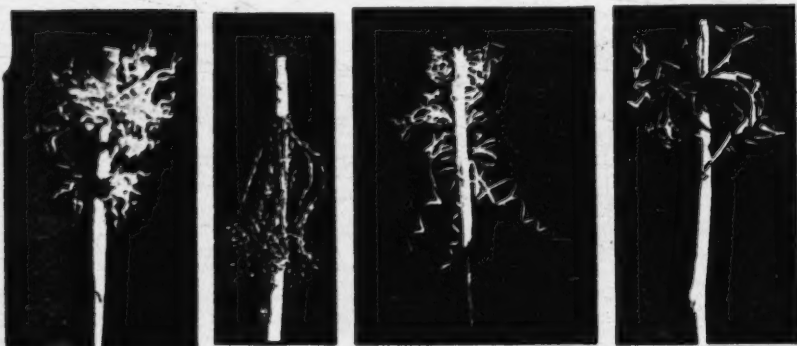
[p. 30-(8)]



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Fig. 1. *Shian shatu inau*.
 Fig. 2. *Shatu inau* for Kinashut Kamui, made of walnut.
 Fig. 3. Twisted shaven inau (*kike chinoye*).
 Fig. 4. Outspread shaven inau (*kike parase*).
 Fig. 5. *Inau* for Abe ochi Ekashi.



[844]

Fig. 6. *Inau* for Abe ochi Fuchi.
 Fig. 7. *Inau* for Kinashut Kamui, to help in difficult childbirth, seen in the north.
 Fig. 8. *Chikappo shian inau*.
 Fig. 9. *Ekashi inau*.

PLATE III. INAU.

[p. 30, (C)]

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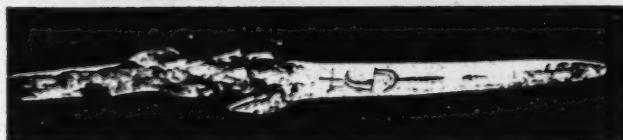
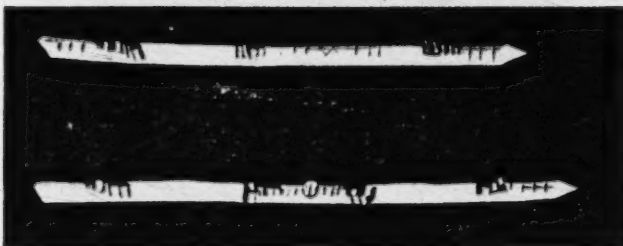
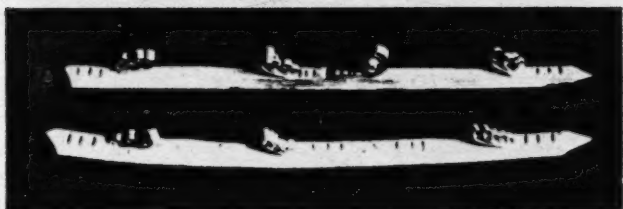
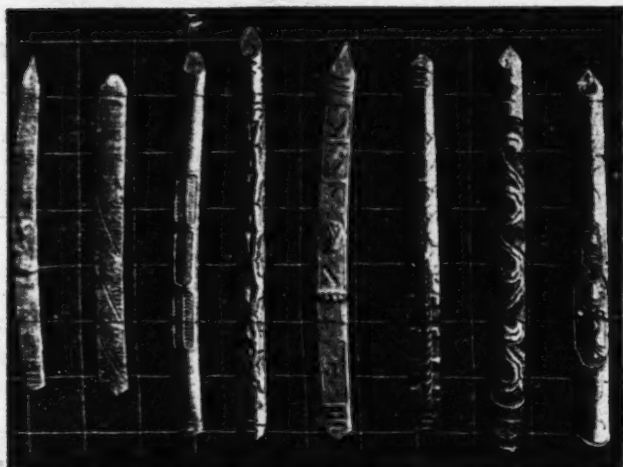


Fig. 1. Decorated *iku-bashui* in ordinary use.
Fig. 2. *Kike-ush-bashui*, used in *kamui iomande* ceremonies.
Fig. 3. Ditto, but turned to show ancestral marking (*ekashi itokpa*).
Fig. 4. *Iku-bashui* for Rep-un Kamui, showing his *itokpa*.

PLATE VI. PRAYER STICKS
OR LIBATION WANDS (IKU-BASHUI).

[p. 30, (A)]

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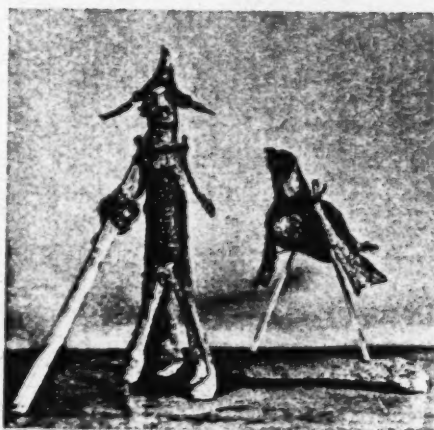
1.



2.



3.



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Fig. 1. Uesanash giving ritual dismissal to Imosh Kamui.

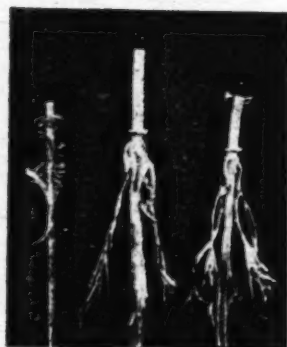
Fig. 2. Rennuikesh Ekashi giving ritual dismissal to Penup Kamui.

Fig. 3. Imosh Kamui dismantled at the *asa* erected for him with the *inu* appropriate to the highest *kamui*.

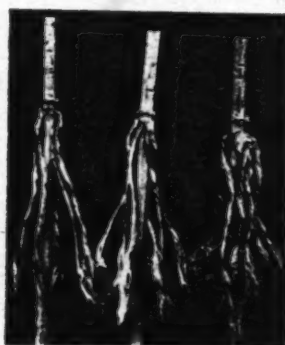
Fig. 4. Penup Kamui.

PLATE VIII. DANGEROUS KAMUI.

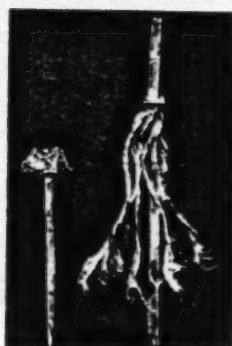
[p. 30, (H)]



1. 2.



3. 4. 5.



6. 7.



8.

Fig. 1. Iresu Fuchi (Usawara Fuchi). Fig. 2. Kanna Kamui, the sky deity. Fig. 3. Kotan-koro Kamui, eagle-owl. Fig. 4. Chiwash-koro Kamui. Fig. 5. Chup Kamui, the sun deity. Fig. 6. Rep-un Kamui, grampus. Fig. 7. Abe ochi Ekashi *Inau*: the male fire god in the north. Fig. 8. Iworo-koro Ekashi, the ancestor possessing the mountains. Used in the north. Fig. 9. *Inau* given to Kinashut Kamui to aid difficult childbirth.

All show *itokpa* markings and are made in the north.

PLATE IX. *ITOKPA* ON STEMS OF *INAU* OFFERED TO THE ABOVE *KAMUI*.

[p. 30, (I)]

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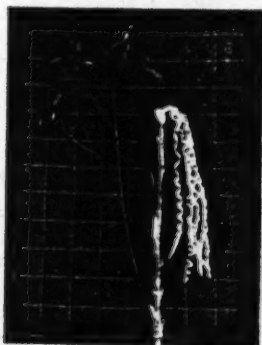


Fig. 1. *Inau* of walnut given to Kinashut Kamui as a reward for help given.

Fig. 2. *Inau* of elder given to Kinashut Kamui for expelling evil spirits.

Fig. 3. *Inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui offered by hunters in the south and by fishermen in the north.

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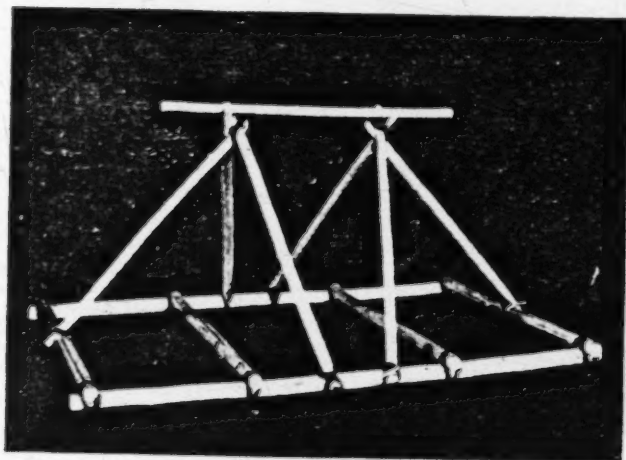
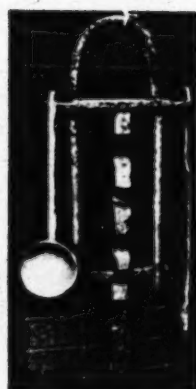


Fig. 4. Model of Ketun-ni.

PLATE X. *INAU* AND MODEL OF ROOF STRUCTURE.

[p. 30. (J)]



1.



2.

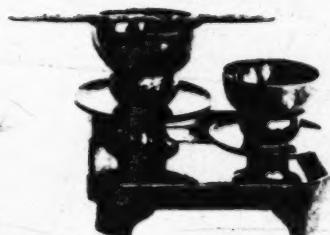


3.

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6.

Fig. 1. Pot hook. Fig. 2. Household utensils. Fig. 3. Woman's necklace with pendant and earrings. Fig. 4. A *shintoko* and an old wooden vessel. Fig. 5. Tray with wine cups and a libation wand. Fig. 6. *Patchi*, bowl with lid.

PLATE XI. DOMESTIC OBJECTS.

[p. 30, (k)]



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Fig. 1. Chupusu inau fixed to the top of the post (*tasak mi*). In the bear ceremony, when the flesh is cut up, it is dipped in the blood of the bear and again attached to the post. Fig. 2. The head of the bear in the centre of the inau of many inau set up for the bear ceremony. Fig. 3. The Chupusu and inau fencing set up for the bear ceremony.

PLATE XIII. INAU ARRANGED FOR BEAR CEREMONY.

[p. 30, (M)]

THE INAU

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.¹ They are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven. 224
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There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutoe*). The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba *Kamui* at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones. Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un *Kamui*, the God in the Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush *Kamui*, the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.² At the great Bear Festival, 778
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[825]
[796]

¹ The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro *Kamui* as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro *Kamui* all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with *Kamui Fuchi* and *Nusa-koro Kamui*. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders. [114]

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro *Kamui* represents Shiramba *Kamui* in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba *Kamui* and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S. [776]

² Kim-un *Kamui* is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un *Kamui* materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

THE INAU

- 778 which includes the ritual killing called 'ritual dismissal' (Kamui
 • 782 Iomande), after the ceremonial slaying of the young bear there are,
 776 in addition to the four *inau* mentioned, four variants of the same
 [825] offered in the Nibutani district, and the skull is (or was) perma-
 [796] nently stuck up. Two of the *inau* differ in that they are adorned
 with evergreen bamboo grass, or twigs of a species of fir (*Abies*
Sachalinensis, Ainu, *hup-ni*, Pl. II, fig. 2), Shirikura *inau*. The
 other two, similarly decorated, have a special *inau* fixed to the top.
 778 An interesting object, known as the *inumba* (beer-straining) *inau*,
 782 is seen in Pl. II, fig. 3. There are the usual nine wings but instead
 [824] of a bevelled face there is a cup-like cavity in the top. It is made
 of willow.

Wen (evil) *inau*, so called because their task is to repel or expel
 778 evil spirits responsible for sickness or ill luck, are also called *nitue*
 789 (hard) *inau*, because they deal with *nitue kamui*, each of whom is
 [532] regarded as a 'hard case'. They are of *shutu* form but shorter, about
 [791] eight inches high, and have a vertical slit for a mouth, no cloak of
 [801] curled shavings and only four wings. They are grouped in multiples
 of three, the Ainu 'perfect number'. When a female medium (*tusu*)
 has diagnosed an evil spirit as responsible for a severe illness, eight-
 teen of them are employed. Plate II, fig. 4, shows a group with a
 taller one as chief (*sepane guru*). Here he has a flat head like some
 effigies of *kamui*, and a headdress and belt of curled shavings.
 Some elders provide him with a sword, and he may have a face or
 merely a black rag tied round the head.

778 The trees from which the *inau* for evil spirits are made are
 credited with special magical power. One is the thorn or arrow-
 789 bearing tree, *Acanthopanax ricinifolium*¹ (*ai-ush-ni*). Those most
 824 commonly used are the elder, and alder, the species being the
Sambucus latipinna (*soko-ni*) and *Alnus hirsuta* (*kene-ni*). The
 Ainu used to regard them as natural enemies of evil spirits. The
 elder is sometimes called in prayer Moshiri Kiyanne Kamui, Spirit
 Elder of the World.

778 In this connection the use by Japanese farmers of an *inau* made
 789 from elder is worthy of note. Plate II, fig. 8, comes from a village
 171 somewhere between Tokyo and Yokohama where in the first decade
 of this century I did some archaeological excavations. Farmers

given to the Ainu. Metot-ush Kamui was believed to be a deity who lived at
 the top of a high mountain and was the head of all Kim-un Kamui.—H.W.

¹ See footnote, p. 30.

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were then using cut pieces of elder attached to rods stuck in the ground to protect their millet from harm. There are other vestiges of the use of *inau* in Japan, but their consideration would take us too far afield. 778
[789]
[171]

The *chehorohakep* (chi-a-horoka-ke-pe), 'the thing shaven backward', is of special interest. It is seldom spoken of as an *inau*, but so far as I know has no other name, so will be referred to as the backward-shaven *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 5). Whereas the shavings are cut upwards for *inau* with curled or twisted shavings, these are cut downwards. Whether this has any significance or is merely easier in view of the short distance between the curls is uncertain. There are six sets of curls, two at each of three levels, the top ones being quite small. The usual ones have a cavity on top like that of the beer-straining *inau*, but special ones dedicated to Kinashut Kamui are flat on top with a slit for a mouth. Whereas the former are made of willow, the latter may be of willow or walnut. Plate II, figs. 6 and 7, are respectively of willow and walnut, but the light green of young willow bark does not show up well. As much bark as possible should be retained on winged and backward-shaven *inau*; they are made of living wood and it is said it would be wrong to deprive them of their skin. [824]

The backward-shaven *inau* are offered to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui. They are always offered to Kamui Fuchi before offerings are made to the other *kamui*, and they may be offered to Uare Kamui, Kamui Fuchi's proxy or *alter ego*, at the lower end of the hearth. At special celebrations libations are poured into their cups and those of the beer-straining *inau*. Both are then burnt in the sacred hearth and Kamui Fuchi is believed to pass them on to the ancestral spirits. When not burnt as offerings they are stuck into the ashes of the hearth and invocation may be made to them about any serious matter, after which they are given ritual dismissal at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. During ritual impurity, such as at childbirth, the hearth, sacred to Kamui Fuchi, must not be contaminated, and the backward-shaven *inau* are taken up and disposed of somewhere out of sight. 778
782 ●

Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui generally receive one each. At the Falling Tears ceremony four are inserted in the ground near the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui but they are *not* offered to Hash-inau-uk Kamui. [783]
[844]

The next two *inau* to be described are elegant objects, made with [796]

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778 extreme care and said to be most acceptable gifts to the *pase* (im-
 782 portant) *kamui*. The first is the twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye*)
 (Pl. III, fig. 3) one of which is given to each of the trio mentioned
 above, and two to the *kamui* of the bear at his great salutation
 (*pase ongami*). The second is the outspread shaven *inau* (*kike*
parase) (Pl. III, fig. 4) which is regarded as the best of all offerings.
 Both are fixed to poles or legs (*kema*) so that they stand higher than
 other winged *inau*, the outspread shaven *inau* being taller than the
 twisted shaven one. Both are also known as *inau netoba*, meaning
 the body of a living being. Another name is *shiroma inau*, *shiroma*
 meaning embodied. It may be noted that the curled shavings on
 winged *inau* and effigies of *kamui* are known as *kamui a imire* (put-
 ting on clothes), a more polite expression than the usual *amip*
 (clothing).

184 The foregoing applies to the south; in the north, in Kitami prov-
 776 ince, I noticed some remarkable differences. One was that *inau*
 778 are more crudely fashioned than in the south; another that there
 354 are two kinds of *inau* on the hearth, corresponding to two *kamui*.
 Instead of Kamui Fuchi reigning supreme, Abe-ochi Ekashi, the
 Fire-shining Ancestor, occupied the head of the hearth and his wife
 Abe-ochi Fuchi, the Fire-shining Ancestress, the lower end (Pl. III,
 figs. 5 and 6). Their positions were indicated by their respective
inau. I found no reason for Kamui Fuchi being relegated to the
 lower end of the hearth where she could be in contact with ritual
 impurities, while such a possibility was carefully avoided in the
 south.

[342] The Ainu hearth is everywhere in line with the sacred window
 which looks out on the seats of the *kamui* indicated by their groups
 of *inau* (*nusa*). As a rule this window faces east, but in the north in
 most cases it faces upstream. Then the sacred end of the hearth, at
 what would normally be its north-east corner, is occupied by a
 crowd of *ekashi inau*, and the lower, which would usually be its
 western end, has a single *inau* and not always that.

776 Abe-ochi Fuchi, though also recognized as Kamui Fuchi, plays
 [562] second fiddle as an Ainu wife should do. Yet she is still Iresu
 [782] Kamui who rears the Ainu, is appealed to for children and in child-
 [789] birth, and takes charge of operations against evil spirits. As my
 friend Rennuikesh put it, Abe-ochi Ekashi is higher and more
 powerful, but Iresu Kamui is more esteemed.

184 In the north, the Ainu culture is more decadent than in the
 182

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south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it should properly be called *shian shutu inau* (Pl. III, fig. 1). The *ekashi inau*¹ given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged *inau*, taller than those usually seen in the south, are plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged *inau*, his being called male (*pinne*) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (*matne*) (Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (*shutu*) *inau* are interesting. The male one resembles the *ekashi inau*; the female recalls the backward-shaven *inau*, with the difference that the upper bunch of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat top, too, is similar to that of the *inau* offered to Kinashut Kamui. Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown *nusa* in the north, where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead there is an ancestral *nusa*, crowded with winged *inau*. But Kinashut

¹ Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The *ekashi inau* mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title *ekashi* here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (*pinne* and *matne*) *inau* are *shutu* (ancestral) *inau*.—B.Z.S.

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- 778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
 ● 782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
 184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
 [824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
 and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
 [755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral
 associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are
 said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the
 backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the
 bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven
inau, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out
 spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the
 eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most,
 [776] which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.¹
 He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales
 and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called
shian (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
 787 Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
 184 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of
 divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
 [782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly
 stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be
 heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and
 then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the
 answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
 was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
 789 shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
 [114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, par-
 ticularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one
 south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits
 might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei*
noibe). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is
 doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

¹ Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian
 deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their
 ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

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know enough to hazard an opinion on this subject. I know, however, that in certain village communities (*kotan*) they are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent. Uesanash Ekashi, a reliable informant, tells me that the mode of tying *inau* to their stem (Pl. V, fig. 11) is a sign specific to certain male lines of descent. 778 532 212

Another class of objects which are believed to carry *ramat* calls for notice. I cannot say who first named them moustache-lifters, but it was one of those guesses, based on imperfect acquaintance, frequently repeated in popular writings. These are flattened wands about a foot long, usually decorated on one side and pointed at one end (Pl. VI, fig. 1). When laid horizontally over the drinking-cup (*tuki*), their proper resting position, and when the cup is held in the left hand and the wand in the right, it is sometimes used to keep the moustache out of the liquor. But that is far from being its real function. 778 413 782 [531]

In recent times they have become generally known as drinking-sticks (*ikubashui*), but they are really prayer-stick as I discovered many years ago. Sometimes they are used as libation-wands, as will be described later. When examining a collection of about forty specimens I noticed that nearly all had a mark like an arrowhead on the under surface of the pointed end. This indicated direction, and it is known to most elders is the tongue (*parumbe*). In the Ishikari region it is on the upper surface. When it is absent the pointed end of the stick perhaps represents the tongue. Certain lines and patterns at one or both ends may be degenerate eye motifs. A recent specimen, with its partly modern style of decoration, seems to show a revival of the eye motif on the misunderstanding that each line represented an eye. 778 782 [532]

At the Bear Festival the winged prayer-stick of willow (*hike-ush bashui*, Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3) is tied to the given *inau* of Hash-inauk Kamui and remains there. Another is given to the head of the bear when it is erected with many *inau*, but this one is taken back to the house. [796]

All elders consider the prayer-stick as a sacred object, a messenger of prayer to, and especially from, Kamui Fuchi, and firmly believe that it carries *ramat* in an exceptional degree, while some regard it as ranking with the auxiliary *kamui*. At the same time it is a libation-wand, and with it drops of the sacred brew were formerly transmitted to the *kamui* and the *inau* dedicated to them.

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- 778 It has played a part, if a small one, in the alcoholism of the present-day Ainu, elders now affecting to believe that they can win the approval of the *Kamui* by offering a few drops of raw *shochu*. The function of the sticks as libation-wands was secondary to that of pointing, as a speaker may do with the forefinger, and of transmitting messages from *Kamui* Fuchi. In prayer an elder may say that his language is faulty, but that the prayer-stick will convey his meaning correctly.

[201]

- 778 There are two kinds of mark on the prayer-sticks. Those on the underside are found on most household specimens and are the owner's marks (*shirosh*); those on the upper side are patrilineal ancestral signs (*ekashi itokpa*) and are regarded with respect and awe (*oripak*). Though not as sacred as the women's secret girdles, the attitude of men towards them is somewhat similar to that of women to their girdles. I was told by Nisukrek-guru that whatever the number of ordinary prayer-sticks in the house, only one had the ancestral sign. This was taken on hunting expeditions, partly for protection and partly for identification in the event of death. A stick bearing the same sign and known as the *pushka-un-ni* was firmly tied to the quiver, but was not a prayer-stick.

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These ancestral signs are also cut on the upper side of the special prayer-sticks, *kike-ush-hashui* (Pl. VI, figs. 2 and 3), offered to Hash-inau-uk *Kamui*, and temporarily presented to the head of the bear before its ritual dismissal. The shavings left attached to these sticks, which are freshly made of willow, are wings (*rap*) to waft prayers to the *kamui*. Bear festivals were given by the owner of the young bear, which had been captured as a cub. The host's ancestral sign was presented to the bear spirit and its ancestors in order that it might be glad to return to life for another such feast. It identified the lineal descendant (whose ancestors had given many such communal feasts), and who looked forward to many more.

[184]

In Kitami province *inau* may bear the signs of various deities. The blind elder from whom I obtained the interesting specimen shown in Pl. VI, fig. 4, told me that it was the sign of Rep-un *Kamui*, and he called it *asupe noka*. This sign is found on other northern *inau*. I have not found any instance, in the south, of a *kamui itokpa* on either *inau* or prayer-stick.¹

¹ It will be noted that this sign is not similar to that on Pl. IX, fig. 6. However, Munro also photographed the *itokpa* on the reverse side of these *inau* stems, but unfortunately, the prints are not clear enough to identify the signs.—B.Z.S.

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The diagram in text figure no. 1 shows the position and numbers of the *inau* offered to important *kamui*; it will be useful for following the descriptions of festivals and magico-religious operations in southern Hokkaido. Those in the north are different; unfortunately the notes I made concerning them have been lost.

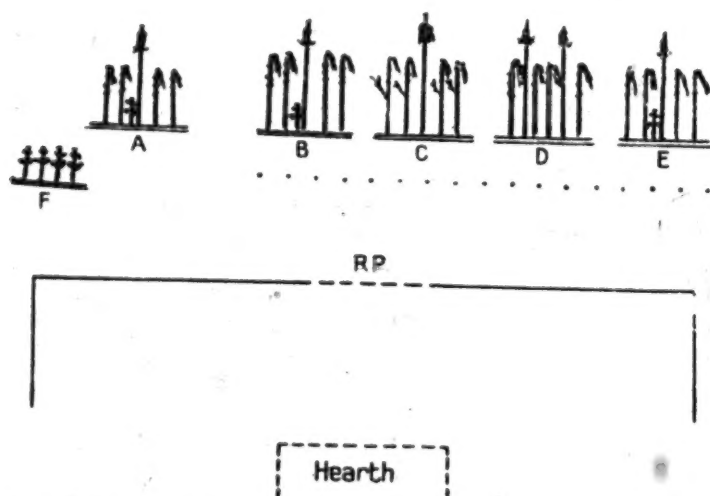
Outside the sacred window of all Ainu houses there is a series

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TEXT FIGURE 1. Diagram showing the arrangement of *inau* in the *nusa* dedicated to various *kamui* at ordinary celebrations.

- A. Muru-kuta *nusa* of Nusa-koro *Kamui*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*.
- B. Ram (soul) *nusa* of Shiramba *Kamui*.
- C. *Nusa* of Hash-inau-uk *Kamui*.
- D. *Nusa* for Pase Ongame.
- E. *Nusa* of Wakka-ush *Kamui*.
- F. Usual position for ceremony of ancestor worship.
- R.P. *Rorum puyara*, sacred window, usually facing east.

of fences called *inau-san*; these are supports or shelves for *inau*. At the northern end is a detached fence reserved for Nusa-koro *Kamui* (A). This *nusa* is commonly called *murukuta nusa*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*, because discarded millet husks are heaped up on it. Here are normally four small winged *inau* (*pon shutu inau*), and one backward-shaven *inau* (*chehorokakep*) with a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye inau*) for special occasions (Pl. II, fig. 5,

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- 978 and Pl. III, fig. 3). All *inau* are planted in the ground, those required to be higher than their neighbours being raised on legs (kema), as already mentioned. Next comes the soul (*ram*) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui (B), whose 'soul' is believed to act locally for Ainu welfare. He receives the same kinds and number of *inau*, except that the small winged ones are somewhat taller than those given to Nusa-koro Kamui, as are those for the other *kamui* at the fences. Like other *kamui* he receives additions on gala occasions, to be described as they occur. It seems that formerly there was a space between the *nusa* of different *kamui*, but now, though the chaff-thrown *nusa* is always kept separate, those of the other *kamui* are often adjoined. Next is the *nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui (C)¹ who is given four small winged *inau* and one beautiful twisted shaven *inau* (*kike-parase inau*). Then comes the *nusa* (D), devoted to various *kamui*, including the bear, eagle-owl (Kotan-koro Kamui) and several others, connected with ancestral cult and worshipped at important festivals in *pase ongami* ritual. Here four or more thick winged *inau* and two twisted shaven *inau* are set up. The last *nusa* (E) is that of Wakka-ush-Kamui, who has four small winged *inau* and a backward-shaven *inau*, and on important occasions a twisted shaven *inau*. But this *kamui*, or his assistant spirits, may be offered *inau* of the two usual kinds at various riverain sites, including the site of the water-working millet pounder (*yutap*).
- [774] The *nusa* fences provide resting places for the *ramat* of the *kamui*, where they may receive the appropriate offerings of *inau*.
- [776] Thus, the inhabitants of the house can always be in contact with the protecting (*ehangi*) *kamui*, close at hand to listen to suppliants, and protect them from evil spirits. Through the sacred window their *ramat* holds communion with Kamui Fuchi. The elders pray to her in language stereotyped by repetition from generation to generation, and she communicates with the spirits. On festive occasions libations are given to the *kamui* at their respective *nusa*, and they are believed to join in the general feasting and gaiety. The ritual of the hearth and the *nusa* forms an integral part of Ainu life.
- [796] In the diagram, four backward-shaven *inau* at (F) indicate the place where the 'Falling Tears' ceremony was held at every festival

[776] ¹ Another name for this *kamui* is Iso-sange-mat. This deity gives the Ainu successful hunting and is believed to assume the guise of a small bird in its manifestation. It is also said to be a sister to the fire deity. It has other names such as Iso-ampa-Kamui, game-owning deity, and Iso-an-Kamui.—H.W.

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when the sacred beer was brewed. Here the sole religious observance permitted to women was performed—the offering of food and libations. These are sprinkled and spread on the ground near the chaff-thrown *nusa*, though the spot selected may vary in different houses or villages. In some places the regular number of four *inau* offered to each *kamui* is departed from, each woman being given a backward-shaven *inau* to insert in the soil when making her offering.

These *inau* serve to remind the ancestral spirits, whether recent or remote, that they are not neglected by their descendants. Like those set up at the fences, they are never removed. It must not be supposed, however, that they are always in a condition to beautify the land and gratify the *kamui*. Even when they were regularly renewed the weather soon played havoc with their elegance, and nowadays most of them are in a ruinous state. But to pass between the fences and the sacred window was formerly taboo to those not engaged in the performance of ceremonies, and to do so is still regarded as an affront to the householder.

Inau fences are not only erected outside the sacred window. Other *kamui* have such fences dedicated to them at certain locations, notably Masara-koro Kamui, who protects fishing boats, above the high-water mark, Tomari-koro Kamui at harbours, and Chiwash-koro Kamui at river mouths. *Nusa* and single *inau* are offered to oak and other trees, and also to places in the mountains where *kamui* are believed to reside.¹

¹ There were many more places than those mentioned by Munro where single *inau* or groups of *inau* were erected and rites were performed. Places associated with each family were the skinning place, the bone dump, the place for discarding animal skins, the place for preparing fish, and the source of drinking water. There were also places where *inau* were erected communally. One of these for the local group was *pitorun nusa*, near the salmon spawning beds, and another was the *nusa-san* at the mountain hut which was the headquarters of a group of hunters.—H.W.

IV

EFFIGIES

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^[774] ^[789] IN the preceding chapter we described the objects called *inau*,
 by means of which *ramat* is retained in more or less concentrated form, which are regarded as affording protection against
 • ^[782] evil spirits and which serve as offerings to all helpful *kamui* and messengers to important ones.

^[755] The faith formerly reposed in the *inau* was not without benefit. Hope was sustained in times of trouble and danger, and sickness was alleviated and even cured. This faith has not entirely ceased to exist. Where, as at Nibutani, the Ainu still retain some of their communal solidarity, many adhere to their ancient creed and its methods of defence against evil spirits.

⁷⁷⁸ We have now to consider the methods of promoting some *inau*
⁷⁷⁶ to the rank of *kamui*, in which *ramat* is so concentrated that it acts
⁵³² dynamically, though always with the approval and usually under
^[774] the command of the higher *kamui*. Although we shall meet with a few effigies in other than *inau* shape it is significant that most of the hand-made representations of *kamui* closely resemble the winged *inau*. This fact is consonant with their interpretation as effigies reduced to little more than emblems.

These objects are sometimes called 'hand-made' (*tek-e-kara*) *kamui*, but should not be referred to in this way. The correct terms are *Ainu-monka-enupuru kamui*, which may mean 'mysteriously made without blemish', or 'besought' (*chinisuk*) *kamui*. The first to be described is so superior to all others in holiness and general authority that in this region it is esteemed as an 'important' (*pase*) *kamui*. This is Chisei-koro Kamui, House-possessing

EFFIGIES

Deity.¹ It is made of lilac (*pungau*), which is highly esteemed for its resistance to decay. As it is believed to be mysteriously linked with the life of the house-owner, any accidental injury or tendency to rot would be ominous, a sure sign that evil spirits are at work, and in such a case it is given ritual dismissal and a new one is substituted.² Even when it has been recently made and introduced to Kamui Fuchi, a bad dream or other presage of evil always causes its removal, with purifying (*epiru*) rites, and its replacement by a fresh one.

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The following is a description of the making of Chisei-koro Kamui; that for other hand-made *kamui* is similar but shorter. First, Kamui Fuchi is asked for approval and good influence, and a backward-shaven *inau* is erected on the hearth. Then Nusa-koro Kamui and Shiramba Kamui are invoked, the latter at his soul *nusa*, and an *inau* of the same kind is given to each of them. The prayer to Shiramba Kamui includes an entreaty that his *ramut* may be imparted to the future *kamui*, which, when made, becomes a special receptacle for it. The making takes place at a spot between the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui and that of Shiramba Kamui. A staff is cut from the straight stem of the tree, never from a branch. Pl. VII, fig. 1, shows the body, pointed at the foot, with the belly shaven flat and the top cut level. There is a mouth slit at the top cut at a very slight angle, almost the same as that on the backward-shaven *inau* for Kinashut Kamui. There is a circlet of twisted shavings round the neck for the attachment of his dress of curled shavings, and a belt of the same. The latter is needed to fasten the heart to the body. The heart in this case, and that of several *shutu-inau kamui*, is represented by a live ember (*usat*) still flaming from the hearth. After a petition to Kamui Fuchi it is, in this district, put into a large cup of water, carried out through the sacred window, and attached at the *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui. Then the costume of shavings is attached, and, with the unusually tall backward-shaven *inau* which is given to him, he presents quite a regal aspect (Pl. VII, fig. 2). I am told that in some districts instead of the *inau* he has a spear made of mugwort such as was carried by

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¹ See Chapter III, p. 30, footnote 1.

² Every wooden hand-made *kamui* is 'sent away' (given ritual dismissal) at the soul *nusa* because it is believed to belong to the family whose chief is Shiramba Kamui. So are wooden implements such as pestles and mortars when these are worn out or broken.—H.W.

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guard attached to represent a heart. At Pihoro, I was told, the heart of this *kamui* is taken from the hearth.

Chisei-koro Kamui receives every consideration as the representative of Shiramba Kamui; he is formally saluted by every male visitor who enters the house, and on festal occasions is worshipped with prayer and libations oftener than are the *kamui* outside. He is also supplicated in time of trouble, but always after Kamui Fuchi, and less than Nusa-koro Kamui whose soul *nusa* also permits direct appeal to Shiramba Kamui. He is, it seems, chiefly responsible for the house and its contents, which are considered to be gifts from Shiramba Kamui, and is what he is described as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi on his first introduction, the House-head-protecting Personal Kamui (Kenru-sopa-kopunkine-kunni). At Nibutani he is revered as a *pase kamui*.

Shutu Inau Kamui

As noted previously the *shutu inau* have been described as winged *inau*, but in order to make the distinction clear the word *shutu* has been retained for the *shutu inau kamui*. The absence of wings on Chisei-koro Kamui is all that distinguishes him from land-made *kamui* of winged *inau* form. These *kamui* differ from the less potent winged *inau* chiefly in that they wear a garment of curled shavings on their shoulders. *Inau* as such have only one tassel, if any, the double tassel is what distinguishes the winged *inau kamui* from them. These *kamui* are mostly male, and as a rule are armed with a spear or sword of mugwort. Conserving *ramat* obtained from the important *kamui*, and being armed, these *kamui* are more powerful than *inau*, and able to defeat the evil spirits which the Ainu regard as responsible for most of their misfortunes. Though representing to some extent the important *kamui* they are believed to act independently, and therefore arouse feelings of awe which increase in proportion to belief in their powers.

There is a rite to thank all *kamui* for their help and send them home when their presence is no longer needed—a form of honourable leave-taking. This will be called 'ritual dismissal'. The most reverent of all dismissals is that performed at the ceremonial killing of the sacred bear, and is called *kamui iomande*. That for Chisei-koro Kamui and most other *kamui*, including those which have only a temporary function, is called rising up to the sky (*hopun-ire*), and is a reward for defeating the evil spirits. First there should be

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- 778 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering
 776 of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of
 782 curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-
 796 winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven
inau between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred
 window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*.
 The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with
 its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the
 important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty
 substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used
 [273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it
 might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the
kamui might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.
- [755] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it
 [761] has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the
kamui is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed
 immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allow-
 ance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.
 [763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed
 to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given
 ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying
 person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man
 or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal
 for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a
 case full honours were accorded.

778 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII,
 fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour
 776 and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the
 532 conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine
 wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mug-
 wort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially
 concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked ex-
 cept in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Suc-
 cess (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for
 success in hunting and fishing.

[824] The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material
 used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of
 effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*)
 the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to
 some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

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inau kamui credited with an effective odour is made of the bird cherry (*kikin-ni*) and is called Nursing (Ikafuye) Kamui. It is still sometimes employed in fevers and is placed by the bedside while an infusion of the bark is administered to the patient.

Plate VII, fig. 4, shows Chikube-ni Kamui. He is of lighter make than most others because he is used to drive away evil spirits from the young bear in its last 'running round' before its ceremonial death. He is also attached to the cage of a bear cub which is being reared for the ceremony. He is carried round an intended house-site in a rite of purification performed when evil spirits are believed to lurk there. Among other of his tasks the most socially important is defence of the village against spirits bringing epidemic disease. Then he is called Kotan-Kikikara Kamui, but this name is also given to Kinashut Kamui, whose effigy of curled shaving (Pl. IV, fig. 2) is even more potent. Either may be installed a short distance from the village at each end and where a road enters. But the *shutu inau kamui* is said locally to be more for general protection or for such milder diseases as measles, whooping cough or influenza; for smallpox or a severe epidemic of typhoid Kinashut Kamui is invoked. However, neither of them is invoked once a severe epidemic has broken out in the village.

The bodies of several *shutu inau kamui* are made of elder. One of them, Soko-ni Fuchi (Pl. VII, fig. 5) is invoked in difficult childbirth to aid Uari Kamui, deputy of Kamui Fuchi, should one of willow be insufficient.

Another *shutu inau kamui* is Ramat-tak Kamui, so called because it can bring back the *ramat* which has wandered too far from a person's body. It is rarely used but is invoked when a patient is unconscious from a sudden seizure and is thought to be virtually dead. The elder-tree body of this *kamui* is formed like that of other *shutu inau kamui*, with one difference: the heart is taken not from the hearth but from the earthen floor, a pinch from each side of the entrance, where the posts of the two Apa-sam Kamui guard the house from intrusion by evil spirits.

The body (*netoba*), without curled shavings, is made near the hearth after prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with a backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes, and is then erected on the hearth, at the end facing the doorway. Next, a fairly long prayer is made to the *kamui* on the left of the doorway (the right on entering) in which the petitioner is called 'grandchild', as in prayer to Kamui Fuchi. In

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 778 this and in the shorter prayer to the *kamui* on the other side they
 755 are both addressed as ancestors. Then the earth is bound to the
 532 body with curled shavings, the tassels are adjusted, the doorway
 ● [782] deities are thanked, and *Kamui Fuchi* is again asked for help.
 Then the effigy is set up beside the unconscious patient. My informant, Nisukrek-guru, has told me of instances in which elders achieved resuscitation by this means, and he had seen it work when other methods had failed.

If *Ramat-tak Kamui* is successful it is brought to the hearth; four to six bunches of curled shavings are attached to it; it is again stuck in the lower hearth; *Kamui Fuchi* is thanked, and it is taken out by the door, not by the sacred window like other *shutu inau kamui*. In this respect it shares a procedure common to the worship of *Nusa-koro Kamui* and of the ancestral spirits on festive occasions. No *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa*, but it is brought to the *nusa* of *Nusa-koro Kamui*, thanked and dismantled. Should it fail, it gets only two bunches of curled shavings, is not taken again to the hearth, and is dismissed with scant ceremony.

[824] *Ai-ush-ni Kamui* (Pl. VII, fig. 6) is a *shutu inau kamui* whose body is made of a thorny tree (*Acanthopanax ricinifolium*). Though a formidable looking warrior, he is not much employed; in fact, the only evil spirit whom, to my knowledge, he is engaged to fight, is *Pauchi Kamui*, and then only for stomach-ache. The effigy is set up near the sufferer, and water in which the chopped root of the tree has been boiled is taken frequently. That it is employed against stomach-ache may explain why the belly of the effigy is not flattened by shaving, as is usually done with these effigies. Another variety of this *kamui* is employed solely to drive out evil at the *nusa* of *Nusa-koro Kamui*. Known as *Ika-kik* (Driving-out-evil) *Kamui*, it has only an ephemeral existence and has therefore no curled shavings. It has the usual nine wings, a headband and a belt. But, instead of a spear and sword, it has a club of the same thorny wood hung from the headband. The patient is brought to the *nusa*, prayer is offered, and the club is used to beat the air round the patient. I have not seen this, but am told that it is sufficient to drive the evil *Pauchi* away.

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 778 The making of two kinds of *shutu inau kamui* is believed to involve risk to the maker. This is explained by the uncertainty of
 322 their disposition; they may take umbrage at any slight or inadvertent
 532 lack of reverence. But the cause of the dread lies deeper,

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and it is extended to all objects which, when no longer required, are given ritual dismissal. One is Imosh Kamui, who awakens from death those who are stricken to insensibility by a head injury or from loss of blood, and fall apparently dead in the home. He is not invoked when a patient who has been suffering from severe illness becomes unconscious. He is more powerful than Ramat-tak Kamui and is more dreaded. Several elders told me of an old saying that one who makes Imosh Kamui cannot expect to live long, or runs a risk of losing his life. I persuaded Uesanash to make the specimen seen in Pl. VII, fig. 7, but as soon as I had photographed it he gave it ritual dismissal. In Pl. VIII, fig. 1, the old man of seventy-four years is seen praying in the snow at the *nusa* he had set up for the occasion, with all the highest offerings that can be given to any *kamui*, i.e., four winged *inau* for the ancestral spirits, one backward-shaven *inau* and one outspread shaven *inau*. Whether it was that he performed the ritual dismissal at an extemporized *nusa*, or, in my garden, an unsanctified spot, or whether he had invoked the *kamui* without necessity, the next day this lame old man fell in the privy and was laid up with an injured leg. That an elder should accept this accident as a punishment from the spirit of the privy (Ru-koro Kamui), for some ritual error, is evidence of the intensity of Ainu belief in spirit power.

The effigy of Imosh Kamui should be made at the *nusa* of Nusakero Kamui after petition to the three 'important' *kamui* already mentioned. There are two slightly different forms of this effigy. That made by Nisukrek Guru has legs of willow, tassels at the ends of the arms, and a high headband. The other, made by Uesanash Ekashi is more robed with shavings, and has no tassels at the ends of the arms. Both forms have a heart made from an ember, as described above. One authority says that there should be four pulses of charcoal, one on each arm and leg, but I have not seen this. Should an accident occur in the hills, and Imosh Kamui be required at once to restore the victim to life, Shiramba Kamui must be asked to grant permission, and the effigy may then be given a substitute heart of earth. Imosh Kamui is given ritual dismissal with full honours at the *inau* fence for Nusa-koro Kamui whether he has been successful or not.

According to tradition, when A-e-mina Kamui was in danger of being overcome in a fight, or, as in one version, had been actually killed, his immortal spirit invoked Imosh Kamui from Rikun

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Kando, his place in the sky. Then, revived and reinforced by the united powers of *ramat* and mugwort, the god vanquished all his enemies.

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Another effigy made of mugwort resembles a cross in that the two legs are not formed. It is not usually called a *kamui* but *ifunarep*, a searching thing. It can be made anywhere without ceremony and has no curled shavings, but a heart of earth is bound to it with grass. It is used to find lost objects such as a knife dropped in the woods, and is said to be very successful.

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A *shutu inau kamui* of elder wood, similar to *Ramat-tak Kamui*, is called *Ifunara Kamui* and is employed in the home with the usual ceremonies to find people lost in the wilds. I have been told of adults and children who were found owing to the guidance given by this *kamui*.

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The group shown in Pl. VIII, fig. 4, was made for me by Rennuikesh at my urgent solicitation. The man is called Penup Tono, Chief Penup and the bird Penup Chikap, Bird Penup. Together they are known as Penup Kamui, a most formidable combination. A kind of swallow-wort (a *cynanchum*) is known as *penup* in the north, where alone, so far as I know, the *kamui* takes this form. Swallow-wort is a powerful drug and has a reputation for intrinsic magical power; here it is called *ikema*. Just after Rennuikesh had made the Penup Kamui for me and I had photographed it, the son of my house servant became very ill from cellulitis of the neck. A woman medium, who had no doubt heard of what we had been doing, pronounced the sickness due to the indignation of *Ikema Kamui*, and an elder was sent to my house to perform the rite of exorcism. I knew nothing of this until I had operated and the child was recovering. Being afraid that this incident might interfere with my study of Ainu culture I called the elder who, though most friendly to me, was positive that I was partly responsible for the illness. The truth was that Rennuikesh had been so much afraid to use swallow-wort in the making of these figures that I had allowed him to use another root of similar appearance.

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Later, in the house where he was staying, Rennuikesh performed a regular worship for five *pase kamui* with the correct prayers and libations. It is typical of the genuineness of his beliefs and the kindness of his character that he did this for the benefit of his host and his family, but that he did not mention it to me. I heard of it later from his host.

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When I told the officiating elder that swallow-wort had not been used he brightened up and said that the child could recover. He honestly believed that had the *kamui* been summoned for so frivolous a purpose as photography, nothing that I could do would save the boy. This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles, to which we shall come later.

Rennuikesh told me that in the north Penup Kamui is seldom made, and then usually as a last resort in the face of approaching pestilence. If the danger is still some distance away the two *kamui* on the hearth are petitioned, and usually six *inau* of elder are set up. These resemble small winged *inau* but have no curled shavings. They are called abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. Each set has a chief made of *chikube-ni* at each end, the chiefs being male and female winged *inau*. They correspond to the two *kamui* of the hearth, the male being on the east side and the female on the west.

If these prove unavailing Penup Kamui comes on the scene. Should the epidemic stop short of the village or do little harm the figures are taken to the *ekashi nusa*, thanked, broken up, mixed with millet and the yeasty substance, and left to rot. Pl. VIII, fig. 2, shows Rennuikesh, who had wrapped up Penup Kamui and removed it to a safe distance, performing the last salutation before taking the figures to pieces. The Penup figures are composite; the head and body of the man should be of swallow-wort and the arms, legs and spear of mugwort. The head and body of the bird are also of swallow-wort and the neck, legs, wings and tail of mugwort. Rennuikesh felt no compunction in using mugwort, but to use swallow-wort for the body of a *kamui* without real need was to risk resentment and serious trouble.

In Sakhalin a human image called *nipopo* is carved in wood and is wrapped in an *inau* with body cut short. It is made for wealth, good luck and the protection of babies, and, lest its powers fail, it is kept in a box and shown to nobody.

What little I can say of the cult of natural objects may find a place here. A mountain or hill near a village usually received libations of beer with prayer at festivals. Some hills have specially sacred associations, and so have certain narrow valleys. Though the legends concerning them present them as abodes of spirits or fabulous beings rather than as reservoirs of *ramat*, one cannot assert that sacred mountains are merely backgrounds for

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evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

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Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

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The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennuikesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

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This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukreguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four, a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

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from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekuru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

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Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abc-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*¹ *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

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The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

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Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

¹ Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

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while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalice (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoiibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.¹

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

¹ The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-horpe* and *huchi-horpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

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children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stooping, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements. 342 574

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity. 342 353 417 [415] [412] [322] [824]

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth. 412 415 [845] [789] [755] [782]

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI. 352 [527] [789] [774]

VI

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

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[184] THE FIRST consideration in building a new house is the location of the hearth, which must be free from contamination by evil spirits. Nowadays two rites are performed to ensure this, but it may be that in former days only one was thought necessary. My chief informant for these two rites, the house-building rite and the purification, is Kotan-pira, an elder of high repute in such matters. It refers to the Saru district; accounts from elsewhere show slight variations.

[778] On the east side of the intended site, at the place where the sacred fences will be erected, a group of four winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* is set up and a prayer is said to Shiramba Kamui. Three posts are cut from living wood, green boughs or saplings, and are driven into the ground on the spot where the hearth will be and are tied at the top to form a rough tripod. This tripod, known as the house image (*kenru* or *chisei inoka*) is an important and puzzling feature which is never omitted (Pl. XXX, fig. 3). It may perhaps be a survival from the tent, the home of the Ainu in a former nomadic state, and it may be connected with the mode of construction of the Ainu roof as described in Chapter V.

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[582] To the apex of the tripod is fixed a simple pot-hook made from a forked branch. In no variant of the ceremony that I have seen has a pot ever been hung from the hook. After a prayer to Kamui Fuchi three pieces of glowing wood from the hearth of the householder's old house are placed beneath the tripod with the glowing ends pointing east. If the house is for a couple who have not had one before, the embers should be taken from the house of the man's

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father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-*inau*-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.¹ An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukakik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

¹ It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
 789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
 354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.¹ Chikube-ni Kamui is then
 796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the
 house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established.
 He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted.
 Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are
 usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way
 Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain
 occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
 796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
 778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
 776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
 a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then
 782 removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has
 returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*² will be
 gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of
 all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil
 spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer
 required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms,
 flattery being a means of ingratiating. Chikube-ni Kamui is ad-
 dressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operat-
 ing on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked
 with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by
 them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted
 after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on
 dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed.
 Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offer-
 ings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

¹ In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

² *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

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In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa matce eseremak koro*). 342 796 778 776

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship. 342 796 [273] [656] [776] [769] [273]

[*Inau-korashkoro* means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible. 342 796 273 [192] [776]

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to *Kamui Fuchi*, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer. 342 273 [782] ●

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

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342
273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 A tub (*poroshintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual.
342 Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made.
273 Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance
HOUSE-BUILDING RITES which goes

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekturu*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them.

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes.

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the incoming occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyenne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had

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342
372 been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to
796 the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct
● 782 descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal
uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors
is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony,
[778] and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a
[776] backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the
ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat,
the female spirit of the house, represented by the *chisci-koro inau*.¹

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth.
She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is
stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure)
Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this
prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by
[776] Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready
for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are
reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its
inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children
who will grow up strong and well.

527 Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon em-
342 ployed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some
districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used.
An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming,
and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute.
Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast con-
sisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.²

¹ This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not
be confused with *Chisei-koro Kamui*. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter
VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

262
[171] ² At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice
and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and
hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers)
a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often
smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and
hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distri-
buted at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish
usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*,
divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also
shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included
several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shito*) were made, besides
its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited
from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY (CHISEI NOMI)

342 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for
527 detailed description because it includes the main features of all
Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits
incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model
of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'im-
portant' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which
the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and
is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before
a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an
old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even
now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of
[184] detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few,
and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual
dismissal of the bear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even
[774] regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi
Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch-
[789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against
evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof.
The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the
festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted,
[782] an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui*
are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they
are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only for ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed. 342 527 [778]

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinum*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi. 342 527 353 [782] [415] [415] [354]

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding. 342 576 527 [178]

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next [776]

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then
 576 sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown
 527 on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately.
 He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and
 then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon
 as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female
 527 relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with
 children at (13).

[554] When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to
 342 the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the
 527 beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of
 273 the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to
 right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking
 some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills
 a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again
 going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled
 partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug
 the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the
 beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure
 against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial
 pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty
 527 elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers
 782 to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside.

The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so,
 naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless
 as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress
 and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).¹ When chosen to officiate, an elder is
 conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who
 takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that
 [411] whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and
 by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the
 elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when
 offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling
 Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] ¹ *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands
 [789] of twisted *inaw* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a
 carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the
 elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara
 (*chipomup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
 527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
 koro Kamui and the ancestors.

[411] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to
 [292] Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister
 to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the
 householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles
 a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven
inau standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and
 then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the
 male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the
 libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the
 [776] fire, he prays¹ to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and
 in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in
 his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He
 tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for
 service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks
 her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should
 the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear
 to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the
 household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

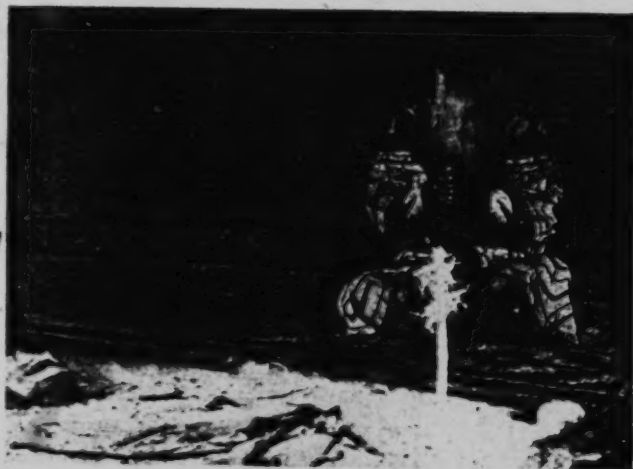
During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties.
 The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east
 corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives
 a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and
 sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adula-
 tory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection
 for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual
 salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that
 he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and
 then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used
 for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of
 [823] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life² and the west for death,
 [764] and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[114] ¹ Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and
 placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has
 not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] ² An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has
 been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

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● 782
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[352]



[133]



Fig. 1. The *skashi* makes a preliminary prayer to Kamui Fuchi.

Fig. 2. At the river bank, the *skashi* calls on the good *kamui* of the home to fight against the evil *kamui*.

Fig. 3. The *skashi* invoking Mintushi Kamui (a water spirit).

PLATE XVII. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (A)]



Fig. 1. Ekashi prays to Mintara-koro Kamui before exorcism rites.

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782 ●
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[346]



Fig. 2. Ekashi invokes Ru-koro Kamui (Kamui of the privy) before exorcism rites.

[142]
[302]
[292]
[531]

PLATE XIX. EXORCISM RITES.

[p 78 (c)]

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisci-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup¹ with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder then takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

¹ I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

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[764]

[823]

[775]

[769]

[778]

[273]

[533]

[789]

[827]

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

342 Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some
 527 at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to
 ●782 the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming
 by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray,
 makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed
 her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit
 protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the
 hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from
 the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the
 beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all
 others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's
 cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will
 she please continue to guard the treasures and other property
 against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower
 end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and per-
 forms the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed
 elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses
 may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the
kamui at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short
 and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special
 service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails
 —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I
 am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly
 served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service
 to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and
 potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were
 awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would
 slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

[576] We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow
 [562] and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and
 humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not
 drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been
 used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling
 Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should
 [292] keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They
 [789] show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf,
 and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

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secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual¹ seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs¹ on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

¹ This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

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from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko hiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne rutwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

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Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.¹ Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting.

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Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

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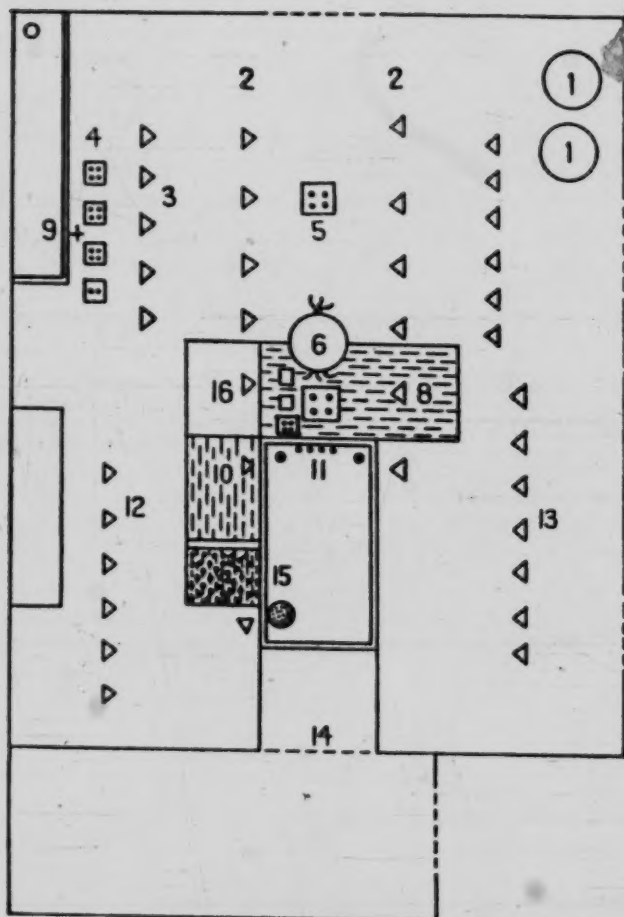
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A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

¹ A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

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TEXT FIGURE 4.—*Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* (Feast of All Souls, or Falling Tears).

2. Arrangement of *U-eshopki*—mutual sitting 'above the *inau-so*' (mat).
4. Food set apart from 15 for the *shinurapa* offering.
8. Honoured guest.

Other numbers the same as fig. 3, p. 77.

The cross at the top left, near 9, indicates the position of *chisei-koro inau* after its removal from its former position near the hearth.

15. Food placed at lower hearth as an offering to *Kamui Fuchi* and the ancestral host; it is also supposed to derive good influence from proximity to the gods.

16. Food removed from 15 to the head of the hearth for the common meal.

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776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
 782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-*inau-uk* Kamui.

778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
 184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set
 up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
 776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
 778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the
 well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
 576 ceremonies.¹ In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
 782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and
 twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than
 those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-*inau-uk* Kamui, and those
 again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason
 for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority
 of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the
 ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

[114] ¹ Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

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and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.¹ The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

¹ *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

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- host holds out the cup to be filled, usually by his wife. He does not drink it, but raises it in salutation and passes it across to his *vis-d-vis* in the double row of male guests. The latter receives it, raises it in salutation, drinks from it and hands it to the man sitting next the host. He has it filled and follows the host's example. Thus the cup passes in zigzag fashion down the line. Two cups are used if the line is long. When one row has been served the other is served in the same way.

VIII

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

(SHINURAPA)

THIS FEAST is sometimes called *Pase Ongami* (great ritual salutation), but is usually known as *Shinurapa*, which may be translated as 'Falling Tears'. It is actually a feast of All Souls—that is to say, it is a celebration in honour of the *kamui* and the ancestors. Not only are the ancestors of the household called upon but also those of all other members of the household. It always follows the ceremony of *Chisei Nomi*. Its details are worthy of record not only for themselves but for their correspondence in part with other forms of worship which suggest the existence of an ancestral cult. It is also important in that it is the only ceremony in which women hold direct communion with the *kamui*.¹

We have seen that preparations are made beforehand for a feast. Not only so, but part of the meal, that is the meat and vegetable stew (*ohau*), is eaten before the great ritual salutation, and most of the rest before the service to the dead. We may leave the question whether the feast in its present form is not a fusion of two once

¹ Possession (*itaren*) might be regarded as an exception, and the employment of women in beating out evil spirits in exorcism (*ukakik*) involves some transaction with invisible powers. In none of these cases, however, do women actually address such powers. The women work as assistants to the elders officiating.

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- 782 distinct celebrations.¹ What may seem anomalous is that a common
 574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
 769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
 776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
 [178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is
 cooked by fire, that is to say by *Kamui Fuchi*, now called *Abe*
Kamui, and by her partner or other self, *Iresu Kamui*. Thus all the
 comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered
 to *Kamui Fuchi* before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral
 spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the
 Hearth' (*Abe-ra-un Kamui*), and it is the Ainu belief that the good
 things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the
 Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are
 taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished
 underground.

- [262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at
 these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of
 meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of-millet (*shito*),
 fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chest-
 nuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the
 hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a
 sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of
 ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder
 prays briefly to *Kamui Fuchi* for permission to take her food. After
 the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the
 hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in
 turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women
 sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
 [273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on
 but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service
 to the gods respectful calm'.

- 769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
 778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*² which has been stand-
 782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
 574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north
 wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

¹ The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations.
 —N.G.M.

² See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

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cedure, *inau etaye* (pulling up) recalls the time when houses had an earthen floor into which it was stuck. Next, the householder or an officiating relative offers two of the backward-shaven *inau* as a burnt offering to Kamui Fuchi, giving her a ritual salutation in which he is joined by all the male guests. Not till after the feast is a burnt offering of food made.

The serving of the viands is called *isaple*, a word which has come to be used for the feast itself, properly called *Shinurapa itwai*.¹ All food served must either be eaten or be taken away by the guests in their clothes. Nothing must be left in sight. The explanation given is that Kamui Fuchi would be displeased if her bounty were not appreciated, and that the spirits of the dead like to see the good things disposed of.

When the meal is finished and all is cleared away, the food reserved for the service outside the house to the departed spirits is brought to the head of the hearth. Together with the trays of viands is one with a bundle or two of tobacco leaves. On another tray is an empty cup (*tuki*) with a libation wand and four backward-shaven *inau*.

The following is the order of the ceremony as performed in the Saru district and, I am told, with little variation in others. The householder or his deputy, wearing a white embroidered coat and his ceremonial sword, salutes Kamui Fuchi and places on the edge of the fire, as a burnt offering, small pieces of the things to be given to the ancestral spirits outside. Out of reverence for Kamui Fuchi these offerings for the spirits of the dead are not put in the centre of the hearth. He then prays to her, using her name Iresu Kamui, saying that offerings of food and wine are about to be made outside, and asking her favour for the proceedings and for the house and all therein.

He then rises and goes to the opposite side of the hearth where a male relative hands him the tray with the empty cup, the libation wand and the backward-shaven *inau* upon it. It should be mentioned that utensils used for this ceremony should be without any kind of decoration.

¹ The word *inau* is an ancient Japanese word, and may have been borrowed by the Ainu. But they tell me that it occurs in their old traditions and that they have no other word for what in England was called a wake. The Japanese word *kami* (deity) has been supposed to be the origin of the Ainu *kami*, but the latter seems to be an ancient Ainu word. My belief is that such words indicate a closer connection between ancient Ainu and Japanese than has been realized.

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769 kind of decoration. He waits till the women are ready with the
 782 other trays and then a small procession moves to the entrance. First
 goes the housewife carrying a vessel with a spout, filled with beer
 drawn from one of the tubs. She is followed by her mother-in-law,
 her mother, or an aunt, with a tray of 'moist' and 'dry' lees and
 tobacco. Then come female relatives with the viands already men-
 tioned, and a young woman with an ordinary and a sacred mat, and
 lastly the householder. All move very slowly, with bodies bent.

[776] On reaching the doorway each woman makes a salutation by
 slightly swinging the tray which she holds with both hands, first
 to the left then to the right and then upwards, while still stooping.

[776] She thus salutes the guardians of the doorway in the proper order.
 [778] We have already seen that before the ceremony two beer-straining
 winged *inau* had been set up for them and left there. This saluta-
 tion seems another indication that the spirits of the doorway are

778 linked with the ancestral cult. The procession moves slowly by the
 796 north side of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*. Here elders of
 769 high repute are known to have been buried, and the site, or rather
 782 one a few feet to the north-west of it, is considered most appro-
 priate for the ceremony. The young woman spreads an ordinary
 mat and lays the sacred one upon it. The other women place their
 trays on the mat, leaving a space on the north for the householder.
 He sits down; his wife kneels beside him and the other women
 kneel in order. The householder offers prayers and leads the service,
 women not being allowed to address the *kamui*. No other man may
 approach the spot, and it may be regarded as a special service by
 the women. Sometimes many of them perform it in succession.
 The householder performs the ritual salutation, and the women
 perform their own reverent salutation (*vaimik*). The householder
 then plants the four backward-shaven *inau* in a row from north to
 south. He gives them some drops of beer as a libation and then
 makes his first prayer to the ancestors, holding the cup with the
 libation wand pointing towards the *inau* and stroking it with his
 right hand. The prayer is long and of the usual type. He asks the
 ancestors for welfare in the new house, and that they will give and
 watch over many healthy children. He tells them that he is offering
 beer, tobacco, cakes, lees, etc., and prays that his halting and im-
 perfect speech may be rendered more fitting by the libation wand
 as messenger of Iresu Kamui. Before the prayer is quite finished
 he pauses to give a few more drops of beer to the *inau*. After the

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prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the *inau*, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

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796 keep their places and put their offerings of beer and food on the
 769 ground in front of the *inau*. When all have finished, the women

• 782 make their ritual salutations and the utensils are brought back into
 the house, but the two mats are left, presumably to allow the effects
 of spirit contagion to evaporate. The *inau* are never removed, but
 the remains of the food are carefully collected and divided among
 [789] all those in the room. The reason given is that the *kamui* have
 [776] imparted good magic to the offerings made to them, so that eating
 them ensures health and longevity.

[184] At Shimokibo near Shizunai the officiating elder gives a back-
 ward-shaven *inau* to each of the women in addition to the four set
 up by himself. Each woman plants her *inau* and calls upon an
 ancestress by name. This departure from the general custom is
 curious.

The Festivities

769 With the completion of the worship the scene changes from
 574 almost church-like solemnity to unrestrained gaiety, carried by
 most of the elders beyond the limit of sobriety. But the ritual is not
 782 quite over; while people are clearing up inside and preparing for a
 [776] good time, Mintara-koro Kamui, the guardian of the yard, is given
 a little of the dry lees moistened with beer, thanked for having
 performed his duties and requested to continue doing so as desired
 by Kamui Fuchi. This is usually, if not always, done and I am told
 that sometimes Ru-koro Kamui, the deity of the privy, is rewarded
 in the same way.

There is an interval of half an hour or more between the main
 services and the wassail (*shi-iku*). Guests who leave without intend-
 ing to return salute Chisei-koro Kamui, the householder and Kamui
 Fuchi, and all present do the same.

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 [532] The sacred mat, which, after the service, had been brought in
 carefully and folded and taken to the place of the treasures, is again
 placed at the head of the hearth, and the vessel of beer is removed to
 a position near the sacred window and filled to the brim. The
 769 householder, or whoever is master of the ceremonies, sits in his
 574 place. An elder is called to the hearth, not by name, as has already
 782 been remarked, but as the father of so-and-so. This elder through-
 887 out the remainder of the festivity acts as controller of the drinking
 (*sake-iush guru*, the person beside the liquor). He occupies a res-
 ponsible position, not only as guardian of the divine liquor but as

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moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

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The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

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769 drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served ceremonially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning
 273 with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may
 [782] offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The
 574 householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads
 769 him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called
 535 *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down sometimes
 887 in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This
 [533] is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau-fences* outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of
 [562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own
 [558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*) might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre.
 535 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and
 273 some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their
 574 previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.
 769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become
 [533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

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273 THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

574 drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container
769 and have a good time singing *upopo*.¹ This is a kind of round or
[533] canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is
finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is
very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and
some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance,
both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of
emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both
song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of
song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a reper-
toire of dances, and while *taphara* go on at the upper end of the
room the women and younger men may dance round dances
(*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round
the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong
and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the
young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see
men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoy-
ment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning
but the crowd has thinned out before then.

796 Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial
769 observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*).
574 The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller
273 one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the con-
887 troller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them
round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round
his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the
householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand
with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous
spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends
to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by
[782] the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, utter-
ing a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house
and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He
does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and
the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

¹ Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupka wa hamui ran wa nitch ha cren, iwai atui isam ho tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

IX

EXORCISM

(UEPOTARA)

THE various classes of *kamui* were described in Chapters I and II, and it was noted that though the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* are generally beneficent, yet they are apt to resent disrespect or neglect of offerings. Reverence is necessary in soliciting their help; and accident, disease or other misfortune may befall those who neglect them, or who neglect a custom or infringe a taboo. Thus, serious illness is usually attributed to the action of some *kamui*, or to possession by evil spirits, when the victim becomes 'tied up'. 776 [982] • [626] [753]

When there is ordinary sickness the Ainu have a choice of many herbs, some reputed to heal particular diseases and a few magically efficacious against several. But where there is serious illness, whether of mind or body, the older folk are quick to suspect the action of a cantankerous or malignant spirit.¹ Purification is necessary for the expulsion of such spirits, or their influence, from humans, places or things. *Epiru*, the general word for purification, is not used for human beings; for them *ukakik* (striking upon) or *kashikik* (striking from above downwards) are the words in general use; these terms are never used for places or things. 753 755 [757] [192]

¹ The causes of disease were believed to be as follows:

- (a) The work of an evil deity (*ween kamui*) or a stubborn deity (*nitue kamui*).
- (b) The influence of the evil spirits of sterile women (whether living or dead was not ascertained).
- (c) Retribution for the sinful acts of ancestors.
- (d) The action of symbiotic worms in the abdomen.
- (e) The result of curses by someone with a grudge against the sufferer.
- (f) Possession by some spirit.—H.W. [754]

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The preliminary service at the house is much the same for all *nepotara*, the chief difference being in the name of the evil spirit to be overcome. In the one I shall describe it was Pauchi Kamui, who is usually held responsible for insanity or violent hysteria. He is notorious as the instigator of epidemics of frenzied dancing. The account of a serious outbreak of dancing mania,¹ which occurred about two centuries ago, was related to me by several elders, as it had been passed down to them by their ancestors.

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As in all ceremonies, Kamui Fuchi is first approached; she is told of the trouble and her help is besought. Next, Mintara-koro Kamui and Ru-koro Kamui, the spirits of the yard and the privy, are invoked, as well as Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui, Hash-inauk Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, at their respective *nusa*. Then elaborate preparations are made by the river: first, a backward-shaven *inau* is inserted for Mintuchi Kamui, a freshwater nymph, and upstream from it six groups of four-winged *inau* are set up in the water at the river's edge. These are made of alder and are about eight inches high. The *inau* furthest upstream, the chief, is taller than the others, and has some distinguishing mark, sometimes a piece of wood tied to it to represent a sword, in this case a piece of cloth. They are called evil *inau* because they repel evil, or abnormal (*shinnai*) *inau*. These *inau* are made of elder and only have four wings, in distinction to other winged *inau*, which may have from six to nine. They are set at an angle so that they point towards the river. The next *inau* upstream from the chief is a backward-shaven one for Chiu ra-pe Mat, the female spirit of the undercurrent. Then comes the *nusa* of the three great Ainu *kamui*; its winged *inau* are made of willow. At the lower end of this *nusa* a sword is hung for the officiating *ekashi*; it is said to act as a messenger from Kamui Fuchi. At the upper end there is a backward-shaven *inau* for Chiu ra-pe Guru, the male spirit of the undercurrent. Six Houses of Evil are set up at short intervals, in a line, at a right angle to the river's edge. These are reed arches, about four feet high, with some hollow-stemmed *Polygonum sachalinensis* (*kuttara*) tied to the apex. Hollow stems of this plant are also used as traps to catch ghosts and spirits of pestilence; small boats are made of them to provide spirits with a means of return to their abode after they have been invoked in a rite. Here they serve as an exit for Pauchi Kamui when the arches are set on fire. On either side of

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¹ See Appendix, p. 160.

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755 each arch a *takusa* (a bunch of grass, reeds and other herbs, suitable
 776 for *ukakik*) is laid. Two similar bunches are put beside each of the
 778 groups of *inau* along the riverside. Beside the *nusa* for the *pase*
 782 *kamui* two *takusa* are laid, made of an evergreen bamboo called
 [824] *huttat*. All these are switches which will be used to purify the
 patient. Six water-worn stones are put near the backward-shaven
inau for Chiu ra-pe Mat.

755 The ritual is a combination of prayer and of purification by fire,
 782 by brushing and stroking with switches of grasses or herbs, with
 river stones and with a sword, and by lustration with water. Insane
 persons, considered incurable, used to be dipped in the river, as I
 learn from elders who have tried this form of purification. Psycho-
 logical troubles brought on by Pauchi Kamui are regarded as diffi-
 [791] cult to cure. When a female medium (*tusu*) possessed (*ituren*) by
 her familiar spirit pronounces Pauchi Kamui to be the evil spirit
 responsible for the disorder, a stiff fight is expected, and all re-
 sources are employed.

When the preparations are complete, the proceedings do not
 take long. After salutation and prayer to the water nymph, Min-
 tuchi Kamui, the *ekashi* addresses the female spirit of the under-
 current in the same way, and afterwards the male spirit of the
 undercurrent. Salutations and prayers are made to all the *kamui*
 at their respective places, described above, and also to the chief
 of the 'evil' *inau*. The first arch, furthest away from the river,
 is set on fire, and the patient passes under it. When she has
 done so she is beaten six times by two women who strike her with
 switches of strong grass or some other herb such as *shinkep*
 (*Lespedeza bicolor*). This is repeated at the five other arches. At
 each stroke the women call softly '*fusal*' or '*fjal*' as a signal of
 expulsion.

[783] The patient then undergoes further purification at each of the
 six groups of *inau* along the riverside. Two women each pick up a
 switch, dip it in the river, beat the patient and afterwards throw
 the switches in the river to carry away the contagion.

755 In the next procedure, which is used as a means of getting rid of
 ailments, especially defects of vision, the patient stands beside the
 backward-shaven *inau* of the female spirit of the undercurrent
 (Chiu ra-pe Mat). The two women take a stone in each hand and
 strike them together to warn the evil spirits that the spirit of the
 waters is about to act. The patient is stroked with the stones by

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the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The stones are then thrown into the river. 755

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase kamui* and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem, are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling out, or rather blowing out, '*fuol*' or '*fu*', stretching his arm forward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuol*' while the officiating women mutter '*fusa*'. Each woman gives the patient six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest garment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded. The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is no longer strictly followed. [778] [782] [783]

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablution or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is elsewhere. [735] [182]

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the ceremony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purification while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui. Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle [778] [114] [783]

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[778] (*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification, this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

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801 It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives six strokes with a switch.

755 The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant, and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

[115] [787] In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia, defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.¹

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[114] Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

¹ Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.B.

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committed suicide or have been murdered or who have died in great agony are said to avoid the Underworld and to wander restlessly, seeking revenge. Dead persons or their disembodied spirits are referred to as *rai guru*, even when considered to be wandering ghosts (*tukap*). In this neighbourhood opinions are divided on the question whether the spirits of the dead are themselves responsible for epidemics or whether they merely accompany the spirits of disease (*pakoro kamui*). People are reluctant to speak evil of the dead, and even when they are held responsible it is said that they mean no harm but cannot help transmitting the disease from which they have died.

Paralysis, especially the hysterical paralyzes of women, are attributed to possession either by disembodied spirits or by revengeful snakes which have been killed accidentally—no Ainu would kill them purposely. When the trouble is due to the spirits of the dead the patient (*arakare*) usually dreams of the dead: when due to snakes she dreams of snakes, and the dream may have sexual significance. Paralysis due to apoplexy is not explicitly regarded as the work of disembodied spirits but the method of exorcism is identical. There are three ordinary *uepotara* performed by Isonoash Ekashi for possession by disembodied spirits, and one held in reserve in case of failure. There is the river purification, the tree (*chikuni*) purification, and another in the house yard. The first is similar to that for Pauchi Kamui but differs from it in that there is no purification by fire, no 'houses of evil'. The prayer to Kamui Fuchi is couched in milder terms; she is asked to quieten the disturbed spirit so that it may have a united mind or heart (*uko ram koro*) with good *kamui*.

There is also preparation for a curious rite to be performed when the patient has returned from the river. It is intended to entice, as much as to expel, the spirit. To this end some stalks of millet with the unthreshed grain attached are laid on the ashes at the lower end of the hearth before the prayer to Kamui Fuchi, whose attention is called to the 'evil provisions' (*wen haru*, literally 'bad vegetables'). Again it should be noted that the food is not bad in itself; like the evil *inau*, it is a means of getting rid of an infliction. Should there be no millet in the stalk, fishbones may be substituted. After the prayer these are laid beside the backward-shaven *inau* dedicated to the *kamui* of the privy to await the patient's return from the river.

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- 755 The rite which follows is the tree (*chikuni*) *uepotara*. As per-
 • 782 formed by Isonoash, three trees are chosen; oaks are preferred but
 824 other 'good' trees may be used. The elder prays to the spirits of
 two trees, each of which is given a backward-shaven *inau* and two
 bunches of curled shavings. The latter are fixed in the bark of the
 trees. The invocations are short; in them he intimates that he is
 about to approach the third tree, regarded as their superior, and
 solicits their aid in expelling the disembodied spirit. The third tree
 [778] is given four-winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau* and the
 prayer is more elaborate. The principal spirit is addressed as
 Shiramba Kamui or Shiri-koro Kamui, but three tree spirits are
 here distinguished, one of the root, one of the trunk and another
 of the top branches. These are called respectively Chinosa-yushi,
 Kohosup-kari and Komkissara-koro guru, the last being the 'pos-
 sessor of the leafy ears'. The elder then prays directly to Shiramba
 Kamui on behalf of the sufferer at the soul *nusa* which has been
 erected under the tree. On the fence of this *nusa* a sword has been
 hung, and switches of *huttat* have been placed on the ground.

- 755 Purification begins at the first tree, where four switches of grass
 783 and small branches are lying, two on each side. Two women
 officiants stand one on each side. The patient is purified with a
 switch by one woman; goes round the tree where she is purified
 by the other; returns to her first position and then proceeds to the
 second tree, where the process is repeated. At the third tree the
 patient goes round six times, being purified by one of the women
 [778] at each half round. Finally, at the soul *nusa*, she is purified with a
 [824] switch of bamboo grass, the elder finishing by flourishing the sword
 which has been hanging there in readiness.

- On returning to the precincts of the house, the patient is taken
 755 near the privy. The two women take some of the millet stalks, or
 783 the fishbones, in their hands, and stroke the patient with them
 778 down the front. The idea is to entice the disembodied spirit to
 come out; there is also some idea of expulsion as the women make
 the usual *fusa fusa* sound.

Between the privy and the place of Mintara-koro Kamui have
 been set up six sets of evil *inau* with their leader, just as in the river
uepotara, except that they are made of alder instead of elder. At
 each of these sets the patient is purified by the two women with
 ordinary switches. Before moving to the next set the women each
 pull up two *inau* and with one in each hand make the *fusa fusa*

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755 practised. Spitting blood has long been recognized as associated
 [753] with consumption (*satpe tashum*, withering sickness) and is treated as a visitation by evil spirits. One kind of exorcism, performed at the river, is similar to that described for Pauchi Kamui, except that in place of six burning arches there are six tiny boats made of *kuttara*, and at each purification at the *inau* the patient spits into one of the boats; a small stone is placed in it and it is then set afloat in the river. At the tree *uepotara* for the same disease six pieces of bark are taken from the third tree and at each circumambulation of the tree sputum is coughed or spat on to one of the pieces, all of which are buried at the foot of the tree.

753 Various afflictions attributed to possession by hostile animals are
 755 treated by similar methods. Eye troubles, severe headaches, neu-
 825 ralgias, functional paralyses and joint affections are often thought
 158 to be caused by them. I have personally investigated eleven cases of such afflictions which had been cured or greatly relieved by magico-religious operations performed by various elders. An important feature is that there is not only exorcism but the replacement of the hostile spirit by the helpful Kinashut Kamui. When one of these suffering women recalls having seen a snake alive or dead, or dreams of snakes, she is convinced that the cause of her trouble is possession by a cantankerous snake spirit. Ainu women know that Kinashut Kamui, spirit chief of the snake tribe, can control and expel errant members of his kind, and that in the condition known as *imu* he supplants the evil-doer.¹ The condition is characterized by emotional outbursts, by the immediate imitation of sounds and actions, and by a tendency to say or do the opposite of anything asserted or requested by another person. This reversion to infantile mentality is quite transitory. Appearing when the woman is startled, or frightened by some reference to a snake or to the caterpillar *ashtoma ikombap*, it usually ends with a smile and a hand placed over the lips. Otherwise the woman is a normal housewife and mother and not less intelligent than other women.
 [522] On the whole, the *imu* state is a source of amusement rather than otherwise, and it may be that some women vie with others in posing as *imu*. For treatment of *imu* the elder makes an image of a snake out of curled shavings and, after appealing to Kamui Fuchi, invokes into it the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui at the chaff-thrown *nusa*. He places it round the neck of the patient and brings down

¹ See Appendix, pp. 161, 2, 3.

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of the solicitude of Kamui Fuchi. The two officiating women have a bracelet of curled shavings on each arm; these are also worn in other exorcisms.

The ceremony begins with a long prayer, in which flattering allusions are made to the brave hornet, but Nusa-koro Kamui is asked to persuade it to cease tormenting the patient. The hope is expressed that the hornet *kamui* may become of one heart and mind with Nusa-koro Kamui. A proper home has been provided for him and he should be asked to stay there. A backward-shaven *inau* is also offered to Shiramba Kamui at his soul *nusa*, but no prayer is said to him. The women each take a small quantity of the grain in each hand and gently stroke each side of the patient from the shoulder down. This is done three times, the grain which the women retain in their hands being deposited at the *nusa* after each stroking. Then follows purification with the switches of curled shavings, repeated three times by each woman. The nest is now passed six times round the patient's neck to entice the hornet spirit to enter it; it is then hung up again at the *nusa* and Nusa-koro Kamui is thanked for his help and hospitality. On returning home the patient is purified in the usual way; she also washes her hands and head. In the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui the officiants did this also, but now they do not.

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Some women claim to be possessed by the spirit of a hornet; they are converted sufferers from functional ailments. One respected medium in Nibutani is proud of her hornet guide. Kotan-pira Ekashi told me that there is an old belief in benign as well as harmful possession by the hornet *kamui*.

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In this district Kinashut Kamui is called upon at the chaff-thrown *nusa* to protect the community from evil or mischievous spirits. In this capacity he is, like Nusa-koro Kamui, addressed as spirit guardian of the village (Kotan-epungine Kamui). Twice when typhoid was raging in neighbouring villages he was invoked and his effigy was placed in the highway approaching the village; this proceeding was considered highly efficacious. His image in snake form, made not from curled shavings, as described above, but from grass, is still used for the treatment and prevention of disease in the house and to protect women in childbirth. As protector of the granary, where snakes kill the rats, he is known as Pu-epungine Kamui.

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I have examined about twenty kinds of magic to protect women

EXORCISM

in childbirth, and there are doubtless more. The following typical methods are practised. A second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth, and there Uari Kamui takes charge on behalf of Kamui Fuchi, for the purity of the latter must not be sullied, however deep her concern. The 'important' *kamui* are invoked and supplicated, especially Wakka-ush Kamui. Should there be any sign of difficulty Kinashut Kamui is summoned and then the mortar with its pestle is requisitioned. Having been washed and ritually purified at the seat of Ru-koro Kamui it is tilted to and fro so that it moves into the house, all the time being rhythmically beaten with the pestle. This rhythm is continued by the side of the patient and the pestle is waved above her head and over her body to drive away evil spirits. As the hours pass without bringing relief, the remedies become more desperate. One is to summon the spirit of a fresh-water crab and to urge it to save the mother's life by extracting the baby with its 'metal' claws, even if the baby has to die. The last resource is to give her the urine of her husband to drink or some diluted excrement from the privy. The elder who prepares it must taste it first. It makes her vomit and so ejects the evil spirit.

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X

VARIOUS RITES

Hunting

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• [782] BEFORE the Japanese administration, hunting and fishing were the main Ainu occupations, and even now protection and success must be sought by prayers to Kamui Fuchi and the three other 'pase' kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, before starting on any hunting or fishing expedition. It was formerly the custom, while hunting, to carry one of the skulls stuffed with curled shavings known as *shirathi kamui*, often that of a 'good' fox. They were thought to render the hunter invisible to evil spirits taking the form of wicked bears (*wen-yuk*). [825] The *ramat* in the skull was supposed to see well and to throw dust in the eyes of evil spirits or in some other way to blind them temporarily. [774]

411 The quiver for the poisoned arrows was believed to embody
789 considerable *ramat*. Hunters used to carry a stick resembling a
774 libation wand with an ancestral mark incised on it. This was a
224 means of identifying the owner and betokened that he was under
[422] the protection of the ancestral spirits. It was said that this stick
[211] was often strapped to the hunting bag, in which case a bear tally
stick (*iso-pishka-mi*), with a notch for each bear killed, was tied to
the quiver.

825 If a hunter without a spear was threatened by a wicked bear, as
782 distinguished from a genuine mountain deity willing to provide
224 meat, he would embrace a tree and implore Shiramba Kamui to
save him. Living elders say that this was effectual and that a thank-

VARIOUS RITES

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.¹ Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

¹ Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

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VARIOUS RITES

776 Hash-inau-uk Kamui. Apparitions of both are mentioned in
224 legends, the deceptive one concealing her face with hanging tresses. She was known as Kenash (or Nitat) Unarabe, 'swamp aunt'. Though rarely seen she was held responsible for deluding the hunter. Just when he felt sure that his arrow had struck the game, the quarry vanished or escaped unwounded. She was also a vampire, craving for blood and sucking it from wounded men or from hunters sleeping in the wilds. Yet on that very account she was, strange to say, occasionally invoked, under a flattering title, for an exceptionally difficult childbirth. The invocation was stlyly called true-love talk, and she was supposed to be summoned with the approval of the good *kamui* to perform a task of ritual impurity, the inducement being a swig of blood.

825 Hunters drank the blood of the bear whether it was slain in
272 hunting or at the Bear Festival, regarding it as divine medicine (*kamui kusuri*) and drinking it for its mysterious efficacy.

825 I have been present when fifty or more Ainu have celebrated a
796 *kamui maratto*, the feast for bears killed in the wilds. The bear's head occupied a place of honour near the sacred window with offerings of food and drink similar to those of the great Bear Festival, and the proceedings were much the same though less elaborate. The spirit was given a similar send-off and the skull was erected at the *inau chiba* like that of the young bear killed ritually.

784 Hunters observed a taboo on the word *shippo* (salt); if salt was
263 referred to it was called *una* (ashes).
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226 *Hunting the Swordfish*

The pursuit of the great swordfish (*shirikap*), called hunting and not fishing, still draws some Ainu far out to sea. When I saw it early in the century it excited great enthusiasm, with rivalry between the crews of the dug-out canoes. It was not without danger, for the mighty fish often attacked, sometimes driving its sword through a boat or otherwise overturning it. In such a case the crew knocked on the boat as a signal for help from the other hunters, who were usually not far off.

226 As it is a risky venture, religion and magic enter largely into the
782 preparations for it. Prayers are said to Kamui Fuchi, to Rep-un
789 Kamui, chief deity of the deep sea, and a curious one to Penup

VARIOUS RITES

Kamui. We have already noticed that swallow-wort (*penup* or *ihema*) is believed to be a powerful repellent of evil spirits; the prayer is said while the harpoon rope is being smeared with the chewed root of this plant. To deceive the evil spirits the rope or cord, made of hemp and about the thickness of a pencil, is not called *tush* but *munin-pe* (rotten thing). To emphasize its rottenness, water from the bottom of the boat, supposed to be rotten, is sometimes poured on part of the rope. In this prayer, and indeed while at sea, the word for boat (*chip*) must not be spoken in case an evil marine spirit might hear it and cause a storm or a fatal attack by the swordfish. The boat is called 'wood swimming lady' (*ni-mam kashimat*) or 'spirit cradle' (*Kamui Shinda*), the latter occurring also in the epics. The same precaution is taken while fishing and boat-building.

After the killing of a swordfish the successful boat is decorated with curled shavings and returns with shouts of triumph. The huge fish that I saw was hung from a pole and given curled shavings and thanks for its condescension in providing excellent food. When Batchelor saw it long ago, the inverted head with its sword stuck into the ground was accorded libations and praise.

Boat-building

An Ainu intending to make a dug-out canoe would not speak openly of his intention to do so and would be very cautious in choosing a suitable tree and in cutting it down. Before leaving home he would make a backward-shaven *inau*, set it up in the hearth and pray to Kamui Fuchi. With deep reverence he would ask for the protection of Iresu Kamui, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui, and would then make a burnt offering by setting fire to the *inau*.

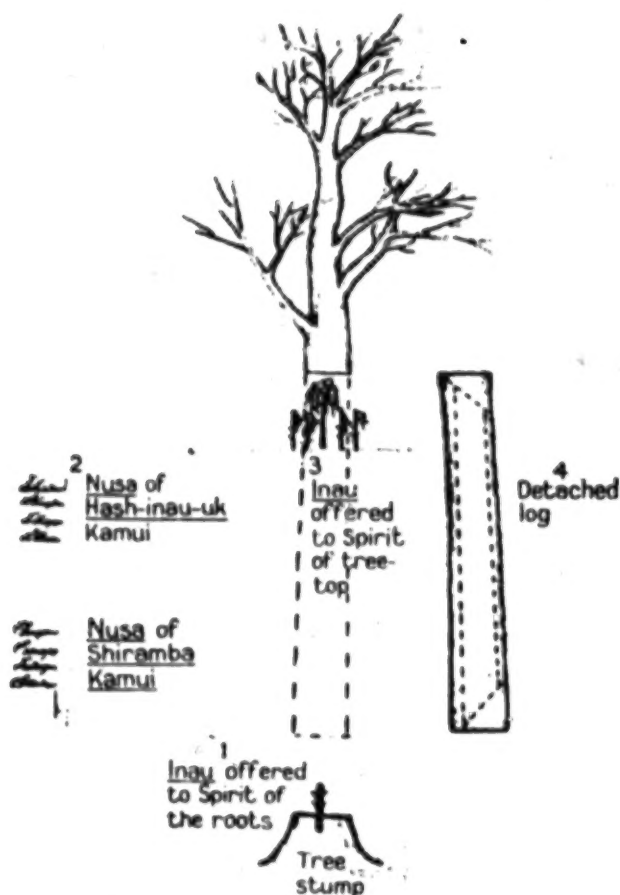
While cutting down the tree he would make no mention of boat-building for fear of attracting the attentions of evil spirits, who might riddle the wood with wormholes.

When the log was rolled aside, a winged *inau* was inserted in a slit in the stump, and the top of the tree was given four small-winged *inau* and an outspread-shaven *inau* or a curled and twisted *inau*.¹ A soul *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* was made for

¹ According to Professor Sternberg the Gilyaks also insert *inau* to placate the spirit of the tree.—N.G.M.

VARIOUS RITES

- 396 Shiramba Kamui and a similar one for Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
 789 These *nusa* were made to face east if possible. A prayer was said to
 782 Shiramba Kamui in which the village and its nearest valley were
 778 named as a means of identification. The top of the tree was given
 ritual dismissal (*inakte*) and another prayer to Shiramba Kamui
 was followed by a shorter one to Hash-inau-uk Kamui (text fig. 6).



TEXT FIGURE 6.—Tree-cutting rite before cutting a log for a dug-out canoe.

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Until work on the canoe was finished it was merely called a log (saman-ni) to avoid attention from evil spirits. When it was ready to be transported to the river, Shiramba Kamui and Wakka-ush Kamui were thanked and asked for further help. Two bunches of curled shavings were placed at the prow and two more at the stern. Formerly a backward-shaven *inau* and sometimes four small-winged *inau* were set up on the river bank. After launching, another prayer is said to Wakka-ush Kamui, who is, as we have seen, the deity of water. In these prayers to the Kamui of wood and water, the Ainu claim to be their grandchildren (*mitpo*).

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The Bull-roarer

At Shiraoi in 1916 I saw a magical device which produced a booming sound and so may be called a bull-roarer. It looked like a spatula (*attush-para*) and was used to obtain a favourable wind for hunting deer. Some years ago in Northern Yezo I found a similar object called *rera-suyep* (wind-raiser). When I mentioned this to the aged Tekatte Fuchi she immediately imitated the swing of the arm and produced the sound of a bull-roarer. She remembered that in her childhood children were not allowed to swing a spatula lest by so doing they raised a storm. It was also said to arrest an epidemic. Landor (*Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, p. 288) describes flattened blocks of wood, elliptical at both ends, and from four to fifteen inches long. Some of them had carved designs, mostly circles. I have collected a number of specimens but none that would answer to his description.

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The Fur of the Marten

It is related in legends that when an enemy was at sea, out on the ice, hunting seals, a device to injure him was to assume the guise of a marten or sable and to curse him while dancing a *taphara* on the shore. Spells to create a storm to sink a boat, or to break ice, were to be uttered while wearing gloves and leggings of marten fur.

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Tattooing

Tattooing was a social custom rather than a religious or magical rite. However, it is believed to protect women from the entry of evil influences by way of the mouth and nose, and some account of it

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VARIOUS RITES

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[776] and is also called Iso-uk Kamui (game-taking) and Kamui Pase Guru (potent person). But Iso-sange Mat (game bringing-down female) is a title of Hash-inau-uk Kamui as goddess of the chase; I am told that this title is not used in prayer.

[184] In the Saru district, though aconite grows in the wilds, the favourite source was a stretch of open land near Piratōri. When permission had been obtained Kamui Fuchi was besought, and about the middle of September promising plants were selected.

[221] It was said that if they were gathered earlier the millet would not ripen, and a fine was imposed on the gatherer. At the place of gathering, *inau* of the usual number and kind were set up for Shiramba Kamui and Hash-inau-uk Kamui, who were prayed to for poison of good quality and successful results. The roots were wrapped in mugwort and hung up to dry in the rafters.

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757 A kind of swallow-wort, *Cynanchum caudatum*, known as *penup*
755 or *ihema*, besides being used to make Penup Kamui, is sometimes taken by sufferers from acute indigestion, whether this is attributed to an attack by Pauchi Kamui or to some material poison. Taken in a large quantity it is said to cause vomiting and diarrhoea, and such elimination may account for its non-lethal results. However, if poisoning is diagnosed, vomiting is encouraged by giving salt, if obtainable, in strong solution, and by a physical treatment that is usually effective. The round wooden mortar is laid on its side and the patient laid across, with his head low, while one person holds him in position and two others roll the mortar to and fro. They keep chanting '*penup tambu, he mawo; he mawo, he ashin*', which means 'pluck out *penup*; magic, go outside'. In cases of aconite poisoning the treatment is similar but more desperate in one

[782] respect. In both, Kamui Fuchi is asked to bless the treatment, but in this case Ru-koro Kamui is invoked, the patient is taken to the hearth and is compelled to swallow a mixture of water and faeces after the elder has tasted it (or pretended to). This is said to be a good emetic, which is likely enough. The patient is also rolled on the mortar, the formula being '*Topochi Kamui, he mawo, he ashin*'. *Topochi* has various meanings, but here it means aconite poison. It is said that some renowned *ekashi* had been able to eat aconite with impunity.

[776] the solicitation of Monoruashi Kamui, and he supervised on the spot all collection
[278] of aconite. Each aconite plant was believed to be an incarnation of Suruk Kamui.—H.W. (Watanabe, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 262.)

XI

DEATH AND BURIAL

THE SPIRITS of the virtuous dead go to the Underworld, but those of evil persons suffer in the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*).¹ There is only a limited belief in reincarnation; a few exceptionally good and gifted men are said to be granted rebirth, and an infant dying unweaned remains in the care of Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn in the womb of its mother.² Except in the case of old people who have lived a full life and left descendants, death is believed to be due not to natural causes but to the action of evil spirits. Kamui Fuchi and the other *kamui* whose protection is sought throughout life are not blamed for death. [776] [761]

When a sick person is delirious, with staring eyes, plucking fingers or clenched hands, the presence of an evil spirit is suspected and purification is performed. When the sufferer becomes unconscious, an elder would say a prayer to Kamui Fuchi. This, the 'self word last said' (*yai ye hesui itak*) may represent a prayer by, as much as for, the dying. [773] [782] ●

¹ The spirit of a deceased person arrives first at a spot in the Underworld (*Pokna Moshiri*) where the road forks. One fork leads to the village of the deities (*Kamui Kotan*), the destination of the good, and the other to the Wet Underworld (*Teine Pokna Moshiri*), the destination of the bad. The spirit is led to one of these two by a dog which is under the direction of Kamui Fuchi (Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, and *Materials for Summarized Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

² Munro states that the Ainu did not believe sexual intercourse to be the direct cause of pregnancy, but that it opened the door to the return of a departed soul. However, if such a belief were general it would be in contradistinction to the statement above, that only certain exceptional people experienced reincarnation. It is probable that either or both beliefs were held partially.—B.Z.S. [842]

is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight.

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Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)¹ which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*² for cakes (*shto*); this is brought underground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

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As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse³ with a single chopstick set up in the middle.

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The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are

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¹ *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

² *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

³ It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M.

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764 provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed,
 [264] *shiki*,¹ and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal
 [177] manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives
 [203] and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news
 is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as
 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for
 a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-
 koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till
 near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench
 from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed
 after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate
 friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with
 the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-
 yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living
 have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold
 stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrass-
 ment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends.
 [195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known
 as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the
 lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the
 recently dead.

782 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the
 764 family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the
 liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies.
 Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live
 ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer
 he exclaims '*fuo*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the
 head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor.
 He again exclaims '*fuo*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech
 [537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,² sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

¹ *Micranthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced.—H.W.

² *Homsu* or *homsu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

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he mingles regret with reassurance. He then bows low and weeps with the rest of the company.

All who salute the head of the corpse weep, most of them copiously. All male adults are invited to make this last farewell and it is thought improper not to weep, even for a former enemy. Women shed tears from beginning to end of the proceedings, and all join in a dirge which consists in a repetition of *o-yoyopota*, 'Oh, how dreadful': Descriptive phrases may occasionally be introduced, but the elders dislike elaboration. Attitudes of dejection are called *uko-noyoize*, 'altogether wilted'. The effect of many voices chanting in a natural harmony is very beautiful.

Preparing the Body

The proper dressing of the body is essential, for not until it is dressed is the soul ready to join the ancestors in *Kamui Kotan*. It is then supposed to forget all earthly events, good or bad, and all anger and discontent disappear unless some unusual grievance is strong enough to remain in memory. Formerly, when an Ainu had been killed by another, his body was dressed in the manner of living Ainu so that he might exact vengeance. Normally, as we shall see, the clothing is reversed so that all memory of the past may be wiped out.

The body is first washed from head to foot, women only attending to women. A woman's body is prepared for burial by a sister, mother, or mother's sister, or maternal grandmother, who may be assisted by some other respected woman. All women are supposed to keep a spare girdle (*kut*) ready for their own burial, without which the soul of a dead woman dare not meet the ancestral spirits. The old one is taken by a close female relative, or it might be buried in the porch. A new male loincloth is put on a father's corpse by his son and the son's corpse by his father. Failing them a father's brother does this.

In respectable families clothing for the dead was formerly made and kept for that purpose. Women made their cloth (*attush*), and for some centuries before (the Meiji era, Japanese stuffs, and perhaps some from China, traded through Siberia, were obtained by barter. Clean garments are essential for the journey to join the Ancestral Host. Clothes worn by the deceased inspire fear and caution, and I am told that they are still turned out of the house

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No. 4 is the mother's father, or her brother. Nos. 5 and 6 are the mother's sisters, or failing them a close friend of the deceased. It will be seen that the privileged positions are occupied chiefly by the father's kin when a son dies, but five out of six of them by the mother's kin when a daughter dies.

Guests usually weep while waiting to be invited into the house, and women outside and inside chant the dirge (*o-yo-yo-pota*). Text fig. 7 B shows the order of visiting mourners. They come in groups from different villages, each group selecting a representative, usually a chief. The men proceed, as if bowed down with woe, to the space between the hearth and the sacred window and their representative is led by a male relative of the deceased to the spot marked (a). At other gatherings the conductor takes the guest's left hand in his right; here he takes the right hand in his left. Hands may be rubbed a little but are raised only once or twice and reversed, that is to say with palms down and wrists drooping.

In performing the act of reverential or mutual condolence (*umusa*), also called sympathetic embrace (*umura-ipa*) on this occasion, it would be an affront were a relative of the deceased to put his hands above the shoulders of a visitor; the latter is clasped below the armpits and puts his hands over the shoulders of the former. After each visitor has said a tearful farewell to the corpse the relative who conducts him to his place may raise the hands normally once or twice as a token of gratitude. This is contrary to the custom of the past.

On entering the house the women turn to the left and congregate at (c) near the lower hearth. They do not go to the head of the corpse but drop their tears at its feet.

The elder at (a), leader of his group, after greeting the elder at (d) with his hands down, says a short prayer to Kamui Fuchi as an act of condolence with the family. He is conducted to near the head of the corpse, sits down, bowing low with his hands on the floor, then slides along and weeps over the head, keeping his hands down. He then performs the act of mutual condolence with the six relatives, one after the other, and is conducted to (e), where those who have performed the greeting to the dead sit in line. He is followed by all the men of his group in turn, and if there are many mourners the performance may take several hours. The women also follow one another, doing the act of mutual condolence

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764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this
 [576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[534] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from

• [782] other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusakoro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse

[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before

[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,

[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is

[178] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting

[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a
 264 *taphara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased.

A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the

[276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and

[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

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with the young. 'Fuo!' is ejaculated at intervals, by some elders between every word or two. Oratory is highly esteemed and prayers and addresses are usually long. Addresses to the dead are sometimes delivered with intense fervour, evoking deep emotion. Their general tenor is sorrow with resignation and usually a reminder that the lamented one has taken the last meal with relatives and friends, and that provision has been made for the journey to, and future life in, the spirit village with the ancestors who have gone before. Advice is often given to do the will of Kamui Fuchi and to be careful not to lose the way, for it would be wrong to wander back.

Immediately after the address preparations are made for burial. The lacing cord has been attached to the grave post to keep it more or less upright, as it would be irreverent to have it lying down. In this district the post is regarded as a substitute for ancestral (*shutu*) *inau*, and its function is protective rather than memorial. The cord is used to bind the body in the mat; before this is done cuts are made in the clothes on the body, or a gesture of cutting is made. The mat is long enough to fold over head and feet, after which it is folded over the body. Skewers are thrust through the matting, first at the head and feet, and the cord is attached at its middle to the top skewer. It is wound round the bottom one and drawn taut. Six more skewers, three on each side, are thrust through the matting, and the two lengths of the cord are laced round them alternately from side to side. When they are pulled tight the body is firmly enclosed, and is then no longer called *pone* but *ot*. The process is undertaken by near relatives, but it needs experience, so an elderly woman familiar with the technique may be called in to help. This mode of burial, though general when I first knew the Ainu, has now, except in remote spots, given place to coffin burial.

Grave-goods

Before the processions leave the house Kamui Fuchi is besought once more to take care of the soul of the lamented and to afford protection against any mishap. The grave-goods, selected to suit the sex of the deceased, have been packed for transport. All are broken or so severely damaged that they are considered to be as dead as the corpse, that is to say that their *ramat* has been set free

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elaborate carving were set up for notables. In Nibutani some posts six to eight inches in diameter may be seen, but generally they are not more than three or four inches in diameter and about five feet high. In most districts the top of the post for men is pointed like a spear, with a bevelled edge; that for women has a flat circular top with a perforation to which three bands of black cloth are attached. These may be sexual symbols. All posts have a lacing cord wound round them. 764 778 [184] [532]

The posts for both sexes have black rings round them, and there are black markings in the slit cut in the top of the post for males.¹ These markings are made with live embers from the hearth. Kamui Fuchi is besought to endow Irura Kamui (Guide Kamui) whom she has deputed to act on her behalf, with *ramat* to guide the deceased to the ancestors. [531] [776] [774]

Another prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui at the stream where water is drawn to fill the vessel carried in front of the body on the way to the grave. An elder asks for special *ramat* to accompany and guide the deceased. I have heard the title Irura Kamui applied to Wakka-ush Kamui. Small streams supplying domestic water are regarded as feminine and in this aspect water given by Wakka-ush Kamui is *nupuru tope a e-urespa* (mysterious together up-raising milk). [782] • [823]

This water is used in two rites. First some of it is poured out on the earth contained in the two food-bowls which have been placed at the foot of the post. The lid of the lacquered vessel is then crushed on top of the post so that the encircling rim falls to the ground; the rest of the water is poured over the post, and the empty vessel is lifted with both hands, inverted over the post, and suddenly forced down so that it lies with the rim of the lid round the post. 764 778

By this ritual the grave-post is permeated with *ramat* and is regarded as Irura Kamui, and the *ramat* of the broken vessel is free to serve the spirit of the dead. Irura Kamui is supposed to see the soul safely off on its journey, to guide it on its way, and to guard it against interference from, or temptation by, evil spirits. The ritual is designated by a phrase only used in service to the dead—*wakka-eshit tomte* (well prepared). [774] [776]

¹ In some districts the mark is made with charcoal from an elder tree, which was often used as a charm against evil spirits. It is said that without the mark the soul cannot go safely to the place of the ancestral spirits (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, pp. 161-2, Sapporo, 1945).—H.W. [184]

DEATH AND BURIAL

- 782 Irura Kamui is invoked for another purpose. If a dead man has
 778 harmed others in some conspicuous way, and there is apprehension
 764 that his *ramat* may be unable to go directly to the spirit village, a
 776 *shutu inau kamui* is made from elder wood, at the house, before the
 funeral rites begin. Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui are in-
 voked for this effigy, which is placed beside the corpse near the
 wall. Just before leaving it is set up in the ashes of the lower
 hearth, facing Kamui Fuchi, who is besought to prevent the evil
 influence (*turenbe*) from leading the *ramat* of the deceased astray.
 The effigy, which is now looked upon as Irura Kamui, is then
 taken by a near relative and carried to the grave beside the body.
 [783] When the grave has been purified the effigy is taken a short
 distance to the east of the cemetery. There, after thanks have been
 given to Shiramba Kamui for bestowing the elder tree *kamui* and
 to the effigy itself, the latter is dismantled and thrown to the east.
 There is no parting gift to this Irura Kamui, as to other *shutu*
inau kamui.

- 764 In the next rite, the grave-post ceremony (*kuwa amusa*), weeping
 778 relatives kneel or sit in turn at the foot of the grave-post, clasp it
 with loud lamentations, take mud from the bowls, rub it between
 the hands as if in salutation, and besmear the lower part of the post
 [776] by stroking it downwards with both hands. The grave-post is re-
 [551] garded not only as Irura Kamui but as *shiri-shiroshi*,¹ that is to say
 a symbol of the body. It used to be taboo to mention the name of a
 dead person, though permissible to speak of his or her *shirosh*.

- [593] This ceremony is performed only by the nearest relatives or,
 sometimes, with permission, by a close friend. Those taking part
 clasp and fondle the grave-post. A father takes first place in per-
 forming the rite for a son and a son for a father or mother, but for
 a daughter the mother's brother leads; the father leads only if the
 mother has no brother. This coincides with the order prescribed
 for relatives sitting by the body in the house.

765 Rites and Customs After Burial

- While the mourners are at the grave, those left at home clean the
 house and utensils and prepare a last common meal. This is called
 [192] ¹ *Shiri* means land or earth, *shiroshi* means a mark. Certain incised marks are
 [422] called *shiroshi*. These are put on arrow-heads and are not to be confused with
itokpa.—H.W.

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wenbe-otta maratto (after-calamity repast). Vessels of water are put ready outside for the mourners to wash their faces and hands. The method of using the ladle for pouring out water is reversed, i.e. it is moved from left to right. On the way back the mourners are purified by brushing, particularly when passing through a narrow valley or ravine where evil spirits might lurk. The mourners are said to be *ikeshui utara* (normally 'indignant' but here 'perturbed'). After washing they go into the house, the near relatives sitting close to where the body had laid.

Once more the visitors perform in turn the ceremony of mutual condolence with renewed weeping. The ceremonial seating extends along the hearth and on to the sacred window. The elder who made the funeral oration now prays to Kamui Fuchi, but without making the usual offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Starting with '*jun!*' and speaking in a loud voice, he thanks her that all has been done safely and asks for further protection. The usual word for thanks is not mentioned; instead a paraphrase is used, *uepoki iko-ongami*, which may be translated 'bowed down in worship'. The meal, which rests on the hearth before being eaten, is of the usual kind.

Former Customs

Twenty years before these descriptions were recorded the following funeral customs were observed. The inner coat was turned inside out. The outer, though not always reversed, was put on over the head to which the armhole of a sleeve was often adjusted. Here this custom is remembered as confined to the relationship of husband and wife. After the funeral the surviving spouse turned the inner garment before entering the house, but left the outer one outside to air and put on a fresh one in the same manner. This was clearly a method of disguise and was called *unaina* (mutual hiding). A widow might retain the reversed inner garment for a couple of years; the outer one while indoors for six months. One or two aged Ainu still reverse the inner garment for a week or ten days. When men and women wore their hair to shoulder length, which men seldom do now, it was customary to cut it horizontally at the level of the eyes and ears. Now a slight clipping is occasionally removed. Widows wore for about six months what was known as a weeping cap (*chish konji*), which was simply a strip of black cloth doubled and sewn on one side.

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a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of small-pox.¹

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.)

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.² In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult.

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

¹ When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

² Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui.

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lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*.

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour.

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers.

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child.

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-horpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiyura

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organization due to modern conditions, but I wish to show that the Ainu as described by Munro have retained many of the religious beliefs and cults which had been associated with their old life as hunters and fishers. Munro did not synthesize the evidence he had observed for the ancestor cult; it was probable that the Ainu reticence on the subject prevented him from discussing the matter with the elders. However, I have been able to put together notes from his own observation which show not only the importance of ancestor worship but its foundation in territorial patrilineages. 769 551 [182]

In the esoteric form of worship to the *kamui*, they are addressed only by place-names—unfortunately, examples are not stated. It has been noted in Chapter VI that the spirit of an ancestor can only be approached by a direct descendant. At the new fire ceremony, preparatory to the occupation of a new house, if the householder is too young to pray to his ancestors and invite them to the new house, his father or his father's brother will perform this duty. [782] ● If no direct descendant is available the prayer to the ancestors must be omitted.

Men who believe themselves to be descended from a common patrilineal ancestor have the same type of badge (*itokpa*) (see Chapters III and VII). This is not secret; it is worn on the headdress and is represented on certain other objects.¹ The badges are handed down from father to son, and if a boy is adopted he must be given the badge of his adoptive father. These badges represent, in highly stylised form, animal *kamui* who are believed to have rendered assistance to the ancestors. The same animal may be associated with several different *ekashi-ikir*, but there is no indication that there is any social or quasi-kinship bond between such groups. 614 301 [428]

Sapa-un-pe (literally thing on the head), a form of men's headgear, was indispensable for religious ceremonies, for special solicitations to good spirits and for protection against evil spirits. It was made of twisted shavings, strengthened by pieces of cloth and decorated with loops of brocade (see Pl. I, and Pl. XXXII, fig. 1). 292

¹ Mr Watanabe does not consider the badges worn on the headdress to be *itokpa*, but he does not state how they differ from them. He says that the Ainu recognize two kinds of *itokpa*: the *ekashi itokpa* to which Munro refers above, associated with patrilineal descent, and the *kamui itokpa*. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui itokpa* are specific to the *kamui* invoked, and are used only in the Kitami and Kushiro districts. However, it will be seen that the *kamui* to which he refers are indeed those associated with the ancestral cult. [184] [776]

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292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this
century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watan-
abe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added
to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the
whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

771 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder
is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged liba-
tion wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani.
Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on
sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
should they become lost.

184 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
114 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
778 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
782 some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
422 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
532 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
[115] at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
[769] stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize,
that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX,
fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated
to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un
Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Terri-
tory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to
the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated
that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which
represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several
elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro
says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in
combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common
descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kin-
ship terms.

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795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
 769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
 825 protector (*shirutki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
 776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the
 eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently
 he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded
 as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in
 conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru district
 every family worshipped two 'weighty' *hamui*, one of which
 [184] was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which
 he noted that the *hamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-ikur*
 of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable importance
 and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus, with his
 other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*]
 are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal
 solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward both positive
 and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl, both important
 778 *hamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral cult of specific
 localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the patrilineal
 614 cult.¹ Further, the territorial character of the patrilineages in the
 north is established by the information given above 423 by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
 769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
 as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no information
 776 to indicate whether the use of this title was common to all Ainu
 114 or limited to certain localities.² Although Batchelor was mistaken
 in considering this *hamui* to be a supreme deity, it is significant
 that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the *hamui* of the
 sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ancestral patrilineal
 cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patrilineal
 769 ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to various
 614 *hamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

● 782 ¹ It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
 845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only,
 [184] generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui
 was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a territorial
 patrilineal group.

² I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

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This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

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associated in these lineages with the ancestor cult.¹ These *kamui* receive esoteric ancestral worship as well as the worship paid them by the whole population.

A number of the *kamui* associated with the patrilineal ancestral cult are also associated with some of the women's matrilineal kin groups and are worshipped by the women of such groups separately. These women's matrilineal kin groups and the men's patrilineages worshipping the same *kamui* seem to be quite separate, and there is no hint of exogamous prohibition between them. Each sex worships separately, and both regard this worship as ancestral and secret. In each group the members of one sex only recognize kinship obligations and render one another mutual aid.

One *kamui* stands in a special relationship to women, *Kamui Fuchi*. She resides in the hearth of every Ainu home, and all women regard her as their own ancestress. She acts as intermediary between the elders and all other *kamui*. When any *kamui* is invoked, the elder first prays to her and offers her an *inau*. There is no evidence that she has an *itokpa* or other sign to show that she is especially attached to any patrilineage.

The patrilineages are territorial corporate groups, formerly owning defined areas where they held the sole rights of hunting, fishing and collecting.² The matrilineal kin groups are scattered, but are bound together by ties of mutual obligations. Each group worships separately chosen members of the Ainu pantheon closely associated with its own ancestors.

It is difficult to classify the structure of the Ainu social system. It is not a double unilineal descent system (as I once supposed)³ as

¹ Professor Fortes has drawn my attention to the similarity of this condition to that of the Yoruba, among whom the gods (*orisha*) are believed to have been originally ancestors. Any one of these gods may be worshipped by certain lineage groups or by individual members of different groups. These gods are common to all Yoruba, but particular lineages, or individuals, select an individual god for special worship (Bascom, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of South Africa*, Part IV).

² Mr Watanabe, between 1954 and 1957, carried out further investigations in Tokapachi district and obtained more information concerning the old hunting and fishing areas, including the salmon-spawning beds and acorn-gathering localities. His work shows the importance of the patrilineages as corporate groups.

³ See footnote 1, p. 145. See also *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1930: Daryll Forde, *Double Descent Among the Yaka*, pp. 283-332, and S. F. Nadel, *Dual Descent in the Nuba Hills*, pp. 333-359.

APPENDIX I

158 continued to occur intermittently. There are certain advantages in being recognized as an *imu*; there is a camaraderie among *imu* women, and both adults and children are encouraged to laugh at them.

158 The transmutation of a neurosis to *tusu* is somewhat similar. The
791 evil spirit will be drawn out of her body by purification, and a good spirit will remain her guardian and her spirit guide when she is called
(775) upon to act as medium. This is often Kinashut Kamui, or it may be a
(825) 'good fox' or a 'repulsive caterpillar', or a hornet, but it is never that of a deceased person as is commonly the case in Europe.—B.Z.S.

755 Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kamui Fuchi before invoking
158 Kinashut Kamui, to procure transmutation of an incapacitating or
782 distressing neurosis to *Imu*

539 Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, concerning the health of this Ainu
791 woman, she has been ardently desired by an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui who has enwrapped her body in the toils of his evil magic. If the *imu* talk can issue from her mouth and purification be done upon her, she shall be free to recover. Although she has severe sickness upon her and difficult trouble within, it can be disentangled and driven out from this Ainu woman, since Kinashut Kamui is exceedingly quick to hear an appeal. A messenger of Kamui Fuchi with *inau* can bear the message to Kinashut Kamui. Although there are very numerous relatives of Kinashut Kamui, he can discern the wrongdoer.

Doing *imu* talk through her mouth [as mouthpiece of Kinashut Kamui], being inspired to a flow of chatter by Kinashut Kamui, many children will be amused and will laugh aloud with great outbursts of laughter, Kinashut Kamui will probably be delighted [to hear the merriment].

This Ainu woman—her body fully cleared by sweeping away [the evil influence]—please give strength to her arms that she may work well in the fields. Make Kinashut Kamui to hear by messenger that a *hamui*—an inferior relative of Kinashut Kamui—making a great quarrel, with virulent power has tied up the Ainu person in the toils of evil magic. Doing purification from above, Kinashut Kamui by his *hamui takusa* may sweep away from the Ainu person [the evil magic]. Nusa-koro Kamui can use his *hamui takusa* through his dependent relatives [inferior relations]. Kinashut Tono [chief] by his own *takusa*, Nusa-koro Kamui through the *takusa* of his assistant deities, by their mutual magic force, by their united strength of arms this Ainu woman may have exorcising purification. That the Ainu person may recover through the united minds of the *hamui* and the brushing away [of evil magic] this is besought.

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Translation of *Innono-itak* (prayer) to Kinashut Kamui for *imu* transmutation from incapacitating or distressing neurosis

(This is preceded by the *innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi and a very similar one to Nusa-koro Kamui which, however, conveys the request that he—Nusa-koro Kamui—will persuade Kinashut Kamui to obey the behest of Kamui Fuchi and counteract the evil done by his unruly lower relative, usually a snake of some kind. After this, Kinashut Kamui is directly invoked)—

Kinashut Tono [chief of the "nakes"] will probably have heard the message of Kamui Fuchi. Nusa-koro Kamui, listening to this invocation will probably turn his head this way [pay attention]. This Ainu woman, incontinently desired by your lower relative, has had evil magic put upon her, binding her body. Now as regards this wicked magic, after purification the *imu* talk will issue from the Ainu mouth. Prepare to remove the evil influence from the Ainu person. Kamui Fuchi will probably be thankful.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kamui Fuchi before calling Kinashut Kamui, for transmutation to *tusu* in case of a severe neurosis where *imu* could not be obtained by the correct rite

Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, the life of this Ainu woman has been incontinently sought by a lower relative of Kinashut Kamui. Hence the body of this Ainu woman has been bound up in the magic toils of an ill-tempered *kinashut*. Having applied purification throughout, *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If she has that speech, please look at the divine treasure in the Ainu [her] hand, for with the *inau*, the *kike chinoye inau*, she makes the woman's thankful gesture [*horai-mik*]. She will probably be joyful in her heart that the Ainu body may probably improve in health.

Translation of *Innono-itak* to Kinashut Kamui for transmutation to *tusu* when the *ekashi* has failed to induce the preferable *imu*

Kinashut Tono, it seems that one of your many lower relations seeks incontinently to possess the body of this Ainu woman, because he has tied up her whole body till now with evil magic. Kinashut Tono can discover among his own relations the evilly disposed one. Purification completed, the Ainu body having recovered, afterwards *tusu* speech will issue from her mouth. If so, the Ainu master [of her home] will be thankful. With *chinoye inau kike*, this Ainu woman with *tusu* tongue and upraising hands will reverently make offering, giving thanks to Kinashut Kamui as guardian of her life. Accordingly, you are entreated to give commands to your inferior relatives.

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APPENDIX I

A Series of Fourteen Invocations

- 782 This series of invocations deals with appeals for help to the *kamui* in
 845 difficult or protracted labour, and presumably, when the help is granted
 776 and the child is born, the series need not be completed. No. 3 of the
 755 series is missing. It is an invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui asking him to
 tell Kinashut Kamui to expel the *wen kamui* obstructing the passage
 of the child.

It will be noted that the first in the series is to Kamui Fuchi; she cannot come in contact with the impurity of birth, so she is told that her assistant Uari Kamui is anxious, and she is asked to summon, in due course, all the other *kamui* who can help. She is told that the gifts of offerings [*inau*] should surely stir them to action. They must drive away the evil *kamui*. The second in the series invokes Uari Kamui directly. The method of calling an important *kamui* first, and then his assistant, is repeated in the case of Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui [Nos. 3 and 4], and again when 'the spider' Ashke Tanne Mat is called [Nos. 10 and 11]. In No. 12 Wakka-ush Kamui is called before the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, is invoked.

782 1. *Innono itak* (invocations, lit. 'prayer-talk') to Kamui Fuchi
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Kamui Fuchi, Iresu Kamui, as this is a painful and difficult labour Uari Kamui is disturbed and anxious. Please send a message in haste to your higher and lower assistants in their proper order. The gift of *inau* with the message to *kamui* of courage and feeling will surely rouse them to activity [lit. 'wake them up']. Usually the pains are gentle and easy. But when any evil spirit [*wen kamui*], full of malice, puts on his wicked magic, labour continues difficult. With your spirit helpers, the brave *kamui* Mintara-ush Guru and the brave *kamui* Ru-koro Kamui [gods of the precincts and the privy, respectively], whoever these *wen kamui* [evil spirits] may be; with these brave *kamui* [spirit-helpers, right arms striking] in turn, it is as if the others [evil spirits] are not. Humbly, with diffidence in the presence of Iresu Kamui, they can save the Ainu person by means of their *takusa* [purification switches]. With *takusa etiu*, by the ends of the *takusa*, any *wen kamui* can be utterly swept away. You are besought to give your orders [to act].

2. *Invocation to Uari Kamui*

Uari Kamui, this painful and difficult [labour, understood] indeed makes this young woman fearful. Since this sudden anxiety is known to Iresu Kamui [Kamui Fuchi] she probably exhorts you in this matter to act without delay, to take the baby from the womb gently and safely and hold [preserve it]. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

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4. *Invocation to Kinashut Kamui*

Surpassingly swift Thinker, Chief Kinashut! Therefore are you sitting with Nusa-koro Kamui, to the west of his place [actually to the north-west]. Inside [the house], near to Kamui Fuchi, the childbirth goes on with difficulty. Uari Kamui, surprised and anxious, sends a message for you to do something. Kamui Fuchi sends a servant to say what I am telling you. Give attention to this. Kamui *takusa* will help the suffering Ainu. Uncoiling from above downwards with your *kamui takusa* on the suffering Ainu and blowing away [hissing] you do *epiru* [exorcism by sweeping]. Afterwards will follow easy labour and delivery from the womb. Iresu Kamui will probably tender thanks.

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5. *Invocation to Apa-sam Kamui*

Beside the door of the house of Iresu Kamui, Protecting Person, Echiririkek¹ Person, Brave Deity with that name! Nearby there is suffering from the evil magic put on by some *teen kamui* whereby labour continues to be difficult. Even if hiding in the earth, you can search it out, and, from the earth, with Mintara-ush Guru [deity of the precincts] can take hold of it in both arms and both sweep it away and punish it for evil doing. Afterwards Shtoruruke² Mat, Kamui Katkimat and your younger sister, holding her spirit *takusa* in both hands [one in each hand] will utterly sweep away from inside the home of Iresu Kamui, with the ends of the *takusa*, the rancorous *kamui*. Tell Mintara-ush Guru [outside] also to grip and punish it. Then afterwards the childbirth will go on gently and easily. Uari Kamui will receive from the womb, and hold, the baby. Iresu Kamui will probably accord thanks.

6. *Invocation to Mintara-koro Kamui or Mintara-ush Guru*

Near Iresu Kamui there is inside [the house] painful and difficult labour. Iresu Kamui being anxious about this thing selects out of many *Tunchi* [assistants or spirit-helpers] Mintara-ush Guru. To make known the tidings Iresu Kamui sends her messenger. Humbly attending to that, with *kamui takusa* held in both hands, in the presence of Iresu Kamui, you may save the Ainu person, and with *takusa* sweep away the ill-disposed *kamui* [*pito*], clearing it away by the ends of the *takusa*. Later on there will be good childbirth. Uari Kamui with both hands

¹ *Echiririkek* implies that as water trickling down finds its way, so, my informants surmise, the name implies searching out. But this is only a plausible interpretation. The word is a proper name in this place.—N.G.M.

² This is a proper name for which my informants can find no meaning. The nearest dictionary interpretation that I get near to is Great-heap. Another: *Shtoruruke* also refers to the water in which the *shito* or cakes have been boiled for the Bear Festival.—N.G.M.

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845 delivering the child [taking the child from the womb] Iresu Kamui will
539 probably be thankful.

775 7. *Invocation to Ru-koro Kamui*

776 Ru-koro Kamui, inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. Therefore, Mintara-ush Guru, informed of the trouble and being near, asks Ru-koro Kamui to rise and help alongside of Iresu Kamui. Mintara-koro Kamui bears a message about this affair asking urgently that you take in your hands the *kamui takusa* and do *takusa etiu* upon the suffering Ainu. Rancorous *kamui* can be swept out by the ends of the *takusa*, and any evil *kamui* whatsoever, at last there will be an easy birth. Iresu Kamui will probably bestow thanks.

8. *Invocation to Nishu Fuchi (Ancestress of the Mortar)*

Nishu Fuchi, though you be called *Kotan korisme* [village dancer], you are Kamui Katkimat. Chief one of many agents of Iresu Kamui, you are about the same age and were brought up together . . . appearing as *Kotan korimse* you are Kamui Katkimat. Because within the home there is painfully difficult labour, Uari Kamui is startled and anxious at the side [of the patient]. Upon the suffering Ainu from head to feet, if, with the magic force of your outstretched arms, you thrust the spear-shadow rapidly to and fro, any *wen kamui* rancorously putting evil magic upon the Ainu will be annihilated [reduced to powder] by your magic thrust. Afterwards there will be a good childbirth. Uari Kamui, close by [the patient and child], will give protection. Iresu Kamui will surely be gladly thankful.

9. *Invocation to Soko-ni Fuchi (Elder Tree Ancestress)*

Soko-ni Fuchi, [existing] from the most ancient times of Ainu Land! In this way Soko-ni Fuchi is near to Kamui Fuchi in a house where there is difficult labour. On this account Uari Kamui is very anxious and makes haste to tell the trouble. Alongside of Mintara-koro Kamui, Soko-ni Fuchi holds in her hands her *kamui* [spirit] *takusa* and together with Iresu Kamui will save the suffering Ainu by blowing away [the trouble] and sweeping it away altogether by the *takusa*. Thus the rancorous *kamui* shall be entirely ousted, and with easy labour the child be born. Iresu Kamui will probably be thankful.

10. *Invocation to Nusa-koro Kamui to order Ashke Tanne Mat, the long-fingered woman, to lend assistance. She is the Spider kamui, and midwife to all Ainu women*

Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi! Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painful and difficult [labour]. There is fresh news of great

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anxiety in this matter. Over and above these standing *inau* is something more [than the favour previously asked]. The message of Iresu Kamui has probably been heard that you grant your spirit helper Ashke Tanne Mat to save [the suffering woman]. Uari Kamui alongside adjures you to protect. Please vouchsafe this.

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11. *This invocation is made directly to Ashke Tanne Mat. Like Kinashut Kamui, she is a dependant or assistant to Nusa-koro Kamui*

Ashke Tanne Mat [Long Fingered Female] Kamui Katkimat! Inside, near Iresu Kamui, is a difficult childbirth. Uari Kamui, anxious for this reason, hastens to make it known to Nusa-koro Kamui, who hearing it will probably tell what she says. Together with Uari Kamui you can help to save. Protecting close together there will be a gentle and easy delivery of the child from inside, with near at hand defence [against evil *kamui*]. Iresu Kamui will probably give thanks.

12. *Invocation to Wakka-ush Kamui to demand aid from the kamui of the fresh-water crab, Ami Tanne Mat, the long-nailed woman*

Wakka-ush Kamui, Kamui Pase Gurul Near to Iresu Kamui inside [the house] there is painfully difficult labour. Uari Kamui has much anxiety. Wakka-ush Kamui is asked, together with [offerings of] *inau*, to attend to it. Condescend to command the divine agent [or assistant] Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat, to help.

13. *Invocation made directly to Ami Tanne Mat*

Agent of Wakka-ush Kamui [the god of fresh waters] Ami Tanne Mat! [long-nailed female]. Near Iresu Kamui there is certainly suffering and difficult labour. This being so, Uari Kamui is most anxious about it and has surely sent the tidings to Ami Tanne Mat, Kamui Katkimat. Previously, your Chief, Wakka-ush Kamui, has had the message. His command you have probably heard, to take immediately your magic hook of iron in both hands. [This probably means to do the best with it.] Alongside [the patient] Uari Kamui is unable to save the baby in the womb. As to this, if it dies it must die. Uari Kamui being unable has therefore told Kamui Katkimat. Even if the baby dies in the womb, the suffering Ainu, at any rate, has only one soul-possessing body. Uari Kamui, near at hand, asks you to protect.

14. *This invocation to Honpusa, the penis, is a last resort*

This Honpusa, soul-bearing Kamui! From inside myself and from the womb there should be a baby. Gently and easily Uari Kamui should receive and hold it safely. An evil *kamui*, working mischief in an Ainu belly, makes labour continue to be difficult. Urgently needed, your

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782 medicine [his urine] will clear from above down the belly of the suffer-
845 ing Ainu. If it is drunk, it will clear from above downwards any evil
539 *kamui* from the belly and drive it forth. After delivery of the baby Uari
755 Kamui shall receive it and will probably be very happy.
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APPENDIX II: The Bear Ceremony

I have taken the following account of the Bear Ceremony from captions of the film made by Munro circa 1931.—B. Z. S.

AS among many other peoples of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, the Ainu show great reverence to all animal remains. Animals were ceremonially butchered, prayers were made to their skulls and gifts were offered to them so that their spirits might be pleased and return in physical form to be hunted again. All animals were treated in this respectful way, but greatest reverence was paid to the bear, which was captured as a cub and kept alive in a wooden cage for some years before being ceremonially slain. Munro does not state how often this sacrifice was made, but I think only one cub was reared in a village at a time.¹ The ceremony was held at the best house in the village, and this would have been the house of the *hotan* chief. After the sacrifice, there is little doubt that efforts would be made to capture another cub to rear for the next ceremony, when the cub had grown to a suitable size. The caged bear was treated with the respect due to a god (*hamui*).

Before the ritual begins, special food must be prepared. Millet is pounded into flour from which the women make special dumplings—large ones for the god and spirit relatives and smaller ones for Ainu guests. They will perforate these in the centre and thread them on sticks. They will also make small round cakes which will be thrown like confetti.

The day before the main ceremony, friends gather at the house of the festival host, usually bringing food for the occasion. First, Kamui Fuchi is given offerings at the hearth, and the people ask for her approval and protection. Then, other household deities are revered, and the gods outside the house are solicited in turn. Outside the sacred window, facing east, stand fences supporting *inaw*, which are special offerings to the gods and also serve as a means of communication with them. In gala dress and head-band of sacred curled shavings, the elder offers libations to the gods. The house where the ceremony is held is a good typical Ainu dwelling.

¹ This was the normal practice, but if several cubs had been captured, they might all be sacrificed at the same time, and the ceremony for them all would be held at the house of the *hotan* chief.

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 • 782 dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the
 [824] ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inaw* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are
 [415] set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

[411] When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *hamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

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 [574] After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-

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pliments, assurances and libations. Then skinning and dividing the body proceed according to strict rules of traditional ritual. The Ainu reverently drink the blood of the bear, calling it divine medicine.

Cushioned on the skin, with body removed, the head of the bear is believed still to attract the lingering spirit. Gestures of gratitude are made and praise and libations are offered, while the sacred fire burns at the place of the rendezvous to which it is hoped will come the World Spirit of the Ainu, the 'Holder of Space' and source of all life on earth. Here are placed the cups that had held the blood. During the feast etiquette forbids one who receives the cup just filled to drink it. He makes the gesture of reverence and passes it to the person opposite. An offering is also made to the ancestors. The women, too, make offerings to their matrilineal forebears (see Ch. VIII, Shinurapa).

After this reverent ritual, the people enjoy themselves. Small millet balls are thrown and scrambled for because they bring luck through intimate association with the bear *kamui*. School children play at tug of war. The women dance at the place of the Great Offering. The spirits and gods are present as auspicious guests, and everything must be done to please and entertain them. Ceremonial swords are carried to guard against evil spirits.

The final feast is held in the large house. Near the sacred East window lies the head of the bear with its lingering soul as chief guest of the feast. Food is set in front of it so that virtue may be acquired and passed on to those who eat it.

Then the 'sacred flesh' is distributed. The Wine-Controller, who sits beside the head of the god and opposite the large vessel of liquor, is a responsible official who gets a goodly portion. Ordinary guests receive small pieces of food, reverently taken in both hands. The feast includes millet beer and soon the Elders and guests begin to feel its effect. Then men dance, and after a while the women join in.

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844 As soon as the child comes out of the vagina the parturient woman spreads her legs. In case she is too weak to move herself a big ball of old clothes wrapped together is pushed between her knees.

[593] An experienced woman always stands beside the woman in
[604] labor whom she does not leave from the moment of the first
[602] birth pangs. Usually it is her own mother or aunt, but another loving relative may also take her place. Several times I saw that a relative came to the pregnant woman who was awaiting her confinement in the house of her husband, even though there was no lack of experienced women in that particular house. The latter were probably considered more distant or less loving.

844 To speed up the birth and to lessen the pains, they massage
[757] the woman. The midwife moistens a piece of a marine plant
[824] which is called sea herb (*laminaria*), she warms it so that slime issues forth and with this slimy mass she rubs first the back vigorously and then more gently the chest and abdomen. On this occasion the following secret remedy is also often used: a dried bat is wrapped up in wood shavings and rubbed over the belly of the sick woman. If the parturition still proceeds with difficulty they pluck some hairs from the belly of a bitch, wrap them with willow chips and start massaging anew.

844 The woman who acts as the midwife prays to the spirits of
[782] the deceased ancestors, who are generally considered the sole
[769] protectors of women, to help the sick woman. This prayer
[539] usually goes like this: "Wherever you may be, my little grandmothers, please help today a suffering woman!"

Only a wise and courageous woman can be a midwife. She must be able to control her feelings and may not lose her head at the moaning and whimpering of the woman in childbirth, or tremble in sympathy for her. She must be able not only to alleviate the physical suffering of the sick woman, but also to pacify her mentally. If it is the woman's first childbirth, the midwife exhorts her to bear her pains patiently, just as other women have done who already have children who now help them with their work and who are therefore the object of envy to childless women.

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844 The birth pangs start with the Ainu women long before the actual confinement and are very obstinate. A confinement is only considered difficult if birth does not take place till the fifth day after the first pains.

[845] The midwife speaks the following words in taking up the child: "Asiri ciacia inankarachty," which means, "new old man, be healthy"! When a girl has been born she says pachko instead of ciacia, /765/ meaning "little old woman." The Ainu believe that their children are sent to them from the beyond by deceased relatives, who live there in the same conditions as the inhabitants of the earth. For that reason a mother takes her child up in her arms as quickly as possible after its umbilical cord has been cut with a knife, and says: "A! Aino! vok erambotara-anachci ne nanko!" meaning, "Look, people, how disturbed they are!" That is, those who have sent the child to earth now remember this and are worried whether it has weathered its journey safely.

844 The Ainu do not hide anything from their children who know exactly how childbirth takes place. For that reason it is unnecessary to lie to them later concerning the arrival of a new brother or sister.

Behavior of the Man. —

The husband of a prospective mother has to take the place of the midwife whenever the latter does not turn up on time or when the confinement becomes too protracted.

844 The husband of the woman in childbirth helps her in many cases personally, as do the other men in the house. When the woman moans they place in one corner of the hearth a little stick whose surface has been carved with a knife. This little stick is called inau by the Ainu and signifies a sacrifice to the gods, in this case the goddess of fire. For it is this one among all the gods who maintains the best relations with man, and she can, when she wants to, always be of help to man. The men also clasp a string around the suffering woman just below the chest. This string is twisted out of long willow chips and is called cinoje inau, that is, "twisted inau"; it is often used as a

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844 remedy for all severe pains. If, despite all this, birth still does
778 not ensue, another sacrifice is made to the goddess of fire by
782 the elders of the house. A small inau is placed in the middle
789 of the hearth amidst burning logs, and as it is gradually con-
[155] sumed by the flames, an old man sitting on a little mat in front
of the fire whispers a soft prayer improvised especially for the
occasion. If the glowing stick falls over in the direction of the
[187] praying man, this is regarded as an indication that the prayer
has been heard and that the woman will soon be relieved of
her pains.

844 On the day of birth a husband usually does not work, but
not because of some superstitious regulation; rather, he does
it from sympathy and sorrow for his wife's suffering. He is also
highly interested to see whether his ancestors presented him with
a son or a daughter. He asks the midwife about this, and she
answers laconically with ochkajko (man) or machneku (woman).
[842] I should mention, however, that the Ainu by no means have a
special preference for offspring of a certain sex. I have, it is
true, heard repeatedly that a father wished for a boy, yet it
never occurred, to my knowledge, that one of the parents or of
the relatives expressed himself with disgust or anger at the birth
846 of a girl. If the husband of the woman in childbed has an urgent
business affair of some sort which cannot be put off under any
circumstances, he may leave his wife and the newborn baby as
early as the following day after the birth, but only, of course,
if the health of both mother and child is satisfactory and there
is no more danger to be feared.

846 /766/ On the first day of joy for the parents the husband
574 takes part in the festival arranged in honor of the birth. Most
852 of all, they throw wild garlic (Alium victorale) into the fire.
[824] This plant is considered the favorite food of the gods and the
[776] Ainu believe that they can force the gods to take part in the
[782] festival by throwing it into the fire. Rice is also cooked with
[262] garlic, and made into a very rare and tasty dish. All neighbors
[758] are invited to the feast. These come quietly and are careful

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847 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for maintaining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

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782 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

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845 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the
 782 wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is re-
 778 newed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt,
 184 whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house
 789 of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika
 I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence
 of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the
 same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear
 that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others.
 In this respect their views are quite different, though, from
 [177] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as
 household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being
 not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

842 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can
 789 transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for
 instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with
 many children. She will use these constantly and she will
 probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good
 remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists
 of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific
 woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread
 belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with
 her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who
 has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another
 remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her
 knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble
 a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has
 [595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order
 to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

842 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childless-
 806 ness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general
 view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood
 which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood
 they will have a child born to them in the first or second year
 of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is

nature; it is the food forwarded to the Ainu by the *kamui* who lives in the sea and sends it to the Ainu. The *kamui* is referred to by different informants as either of *chepatte kamui* and *atui koru kamui* (Note 53), of which the former seems to be correct. The Ainu called dog salmon *kamui chep*, divine fish, or *shupe kamui chep*, grand food divine fish. 825 776

b) The salmon is the subordinate of the *kamui* who lives in a house similar to that of the Ainu somewhere in the sea, and has a human form like the Ainu.

c) There are a number of leaders, *utaru pake kuru* (headman), among salmon spirits who run up different rivers to visit the Ainu, leading their own group of salmon spirits, *ichan kara kamui* (spawning-bed making *kamui*), under the direction of the *chepatte kamui* (or *atui koru kamui*).

d) When visiting the Ainu, they bring with them meals of salmon meat for the Ainu.

e) After giving this meat to the Ainu and being entertained by them, each spirit of the salmon assumes a human form and goes back by boat to its home in the sea. On the way back, they take with them such souvenirs given by the Ainu as *inau*-sticks.

f) Which river they run up depends upon the direction of the *kamui* in the sea. He will forward plenty of salmon to the river along which live the Ainu who respect and welcome them in proper way.

g) The fire-spirit, *apehuchi kamui*, tells the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, how the salmon caught were treated by their capturers, the Ainu. The river-owning spirit communicates this to the *kamui* in the sea.

h) Salmon when caught should be treated in certain prescribed ways; otherwise, they will never come back again.

Group Activities as Their Ritual Reaction to Dog Salmon⁴²⁾.

Towards the termination of cherry salmon runs, dog salmon started running. Before the arrival of salmon, each local group observed a pre-fishing ritual, *petorun kamuinomi*, to ensure their coming up. The male household heads of the local group participated in the ritual organized and directed by the headman. Prayers and offering-sticks, *inau*, were given to the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit. The *inau* bore the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the headman, that is, of the patrilineal male-kin group which constituted the core of the local group. After the collective ritual at the headman's house, each household head made *inau*-offerings, *pet oren asange inau*, and went to set them up at the prescribed spot, *inau aroshiki ushi*, near the spawning ground habitually exploited by his own settlement group and controlled by his own local group as a whole. 226 796 782 •

As previously mentioned in connection with dog-salmon fishing, shoals 825

825 running earliest in season have to ascend farthest upstream before they can spawn. The earliest group which run up the main stream of the river around which each river group evolved, were regarded as *kamui oren oman chep*, fish which run up to *kamui*, though the *kamui* could not be named definitely. The terminus recognized by the Ainu of dog salmon run in the main stream of each river, either the Tokapchi, the Otopuke or the Azuma, corresponds with the lowermost limit of the deep mountain *iworu*, *kimun iworu*.

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782 The member of each settlement who caught the first salmon, *ashiri chep*,
796 *hoshino shirepa chep* or *ashino tanepo chep*, sent it to his headman. Every
[431] food gift among the Ainu, whether to the headman or to anyone else, was
[574] regarded as an offering, *akopuni*, to the fire-spirit. Besides this gift the first
fisher of each settlement invited the people to eat together from his first
catch, which was cooked in his house for the first time in the season. The
first dog salmon to be eaten for the first time in each house, either in the
first fisher's house or in any other's, must be offered to the fire-spirit of each
household and the ritual cutting must be performed by a male with his man's
knife, *inauke makiri*, the *inau*-scraping knife. The mandible *paetu*, of the
salmon, eaten for the first time in each household was reserved for tying to
a new *inau*-stick which was to be thrown into the river at the end of the
season.

When the spawning of salmon ended at the spawning grounds of each local group, each headman called together all the male household heads to his house and observed a post-run or post-fishing ritual, *petorun kamui nomi*, ritual for the river spirit, 'to see off salmon-spirits' and to pray for a plentiful next run. The ritual procedure seems to have been much the same as that for the pre-run ritual, except that on return from the headman's house, each household head threw special *inau*-sticks, *chip inau*, or dug-out *inau*, attached with all the mandibles of the dog salmon eaten in his house during the year, into the river at a prescribed spot near the spawning ground most frequented by the people of his settlement.

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784 Taboos concerning dog salmon fishing were much more severe with female
562 than with male members and much more stringent for spawning grounds than for other sites.

825 Brown Bear as Viewed by the Ainu.

776 a) Like all plants and animals, the bear when in its own land is in human form and lives in a house similar to that of an Ainu. The house, *kamui chise*, appears to the eyes of the Ainu as a den.

b) The bear-spirit, *kimun kamui*, *kamui* residing deep in the mountains, has its kinsmen, *utari*, and its headman, *utari shikamakkuru*, the man to look after his kinsmen⁽⁴⁾. The chief of the bears, *metotush kamui*, *kamui* in the

231 own ceremonies, only took part in those of the other sections of the shine
796 *itokpa* group⁹⁹.

796 Territoriality and the System of Social Solidarity between the Ainu and
619 Habitat.

423 The Ainu used to believe that the *kamui*-spirits which lived in the *iworu*
of the neighbouring river looked after them. The inhabitants of a river, i.e.
the river group, claimed exclusive rights to exploit the resources in the river
basin which consisted of land- and river-*iworu*. Outsiders were allowed no
access to those resources except by permission. The permission was obtain-
[796] able from the headman of any local group in the river valley by going
through a certain ritual procedure for the local *kamui*-spirits. Their claim
to resources on land was activated not only by their economic interest but
also by their cosmological system as such.

423 If some one wanted to fish at the spawning grounds owned by another
226 local group, he had to ask for permission of the headman of that group.

628 [782] Under the direction of the headman, the applicant observed a proper ritual
for the fire-spirit and the river-owning spirit and offered *igau*-sticks made
[431] by him to the spawning ground where he wanted to fish. After fishing, he
would give part of his catches to the headman and the people who lived
near the spawning ground and customarily fished there. The proportion of
the amount of the 'gift to the fire-spirit' to his catches seems not to have
been prescribed. Among the member local groups of the same river group,
permission was usually given without fail.

Fishing in areas of a river outside of those named spawning grounds and
private sites was freely done as occasion demanded by the people of the same
river, that is, by the members of the river group. There was, however, a
custom that in order to prevent any fishing by outsiders without permission,
every fisherman gave information of his coming to the people of the nearby
[431] settlement. Sometimes he might inform on his way home. Also in this case,
part of his catches was usually given to them as a gift to the fire-spirit.

796 In the case of gathering, either fishing, hunting or collecting, in the ter-
619 ritory of a different river group, one had to get permission from any one of
423 the headmen in the river valley, regardless of the method of one's fishing or
hunting. Such permission was given on the performance of a ritual for local
[782] *kamui*-spirits concerned, but not always, because assurance was required that
[685] the fisherman or hunter be faithful to the local *kamui*-spirits. The discoverer
[782] of any trespasser must bring him to his headman or some headman available
at hand in the river valley, to make him apologize as soon as possible to the
local *kamui*-spirits of the river concerned⁹⁹. Also the discovery of such evi-
dence of trespass as salmon bones thrown in the mountains of the river was

a cause for serious issue, for it meant a grave violation to the *kamui*-spirits of the river from which the people of the river or the river group received exclusive favour and which they guarded with greatest caution. The Ainu expressed the maintaining of their territory, that is, the territory of the river group, by the words 'the guard of our *iworu* owning *kamui*-spirits'. Their territoriality was actually activated not only by economic interest but by their system of social solidarity with nature as such. 776 619 423 [782] •

The Ainu world was full of divine visitors: all the natural resources exploited by them were *kamui*-spirits in temporary guises. In consequence all their gathering activities implied social intercourse with *kamui*. Moreover, each *kamui* had its own function in relation to the economic and social activities of the Ainu. Thus there was a close interdependence between Ainu and *kamui*, and their rituals and taboos were an expression of this relationship. The relationship, that is, the social solidarity between Ainu and *kamui* was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity¹⁹. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamui* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which formed the basis of the Ainu local organization. 776 182 771 [772]

VI

[p.144]

[52] The category of supernatural beings that received the greatest emphasis among the Ainu is the *kamui*. Except for the Ainu culture-hero, *aeoia kamui*, all *kamui* are spirits of natural phenomena. In the supernatural world *kamui* take the form of Ainus. They have families, settlements, and even headmen. They may visit the land of the Ainu. When they do so, they disguise themselves by taking the form of some natural phenomena on earth, and bring something for the Ainu. When the material guise of the *kamui* was killed, the *kamui* departed for the *kamui*-land; its departure had to be marked with an appropriate ritual. It is for this reason that the Ainu damped bones and skins as well as broken or used-up artifacts and even ashes from the fire-place to prescribed spots with due ritual (Fig. 1). 776

According to my informants the dead and *kamui* are different things. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 567 and 569) and NATORI (1945, p. 150) describe of an Ainu belief that the dead join company with their ancestors, *shinrit*, and live in the same way as in this world, even observing rituals for *kamui*. BATCHELOR (1901, pp. 568-9) and NATORI (1945, pp. 149-50) note the idea of dichotomy of their another world into the *kamui*-land which is the destination of the good and the under-land believed to be the destination of the bad. KUBODERA (1956, p. 6) states that the Ainu regard another world as existing under this world, and IZUMI (1951, p. 215) mentions that another world of the Saru Ainu was believed to exist under the territory of the river group. My informants distinguish between the ancestor ritual, *shinnurappa*, and the ritual for *kamui*, *kamuinomi* and between the offering sticks to ancestors, *icharupa inau* or *shinnurappa inau*, and those to *kamui*, *kamuinomi inau*. The ancestor ritual was performed at a place different from that for the *kamui*-ritual. 775
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The essential components of the ancestor ritual are shedding of wine and foods onto *icharupa inau* each to be offered to an ancestor or ancestress, and associated prayers which are different from those for *kamui*-deities, *kamuinomi inono itak*. The *icharupa* ritual was observed by men as well as women; however, it should always have been preceded by *kamuinomi* ritual the observance of which was exclusively in the hands of men. 769
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It is said that a male Ainu worshipped male ancestors of his *ekashi ikiru* and a female Ainu female ancestors of her *huchi ikiru*. In practice, however, the ancestors to whom they directed the ritual and the generations which the ancestors covered seem to have been few. According to Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, those ancestors were usually patrilineal or matrilineal relatives of the observer of the ritual whom the observer had seen and 769

Only a few families of the

pishun utaru followed stretch-rope fishing: shortly after the land allotments, 226
2 families out of 10 and odd at Chin on the Mukawa and or 3 out of 14 or [184]
15 at Nina on the Saru.

Each spring and again each autumn, for about a month while favourable [221]
weather prevailed for drying and storing away their catches, the males of [251]
these families went to stay at seaside fishing lodges, *haina koru kucha* or
pishun kucha, and devoted themselves to fishing with the stretch-rope, '*haina*',
while their families remained at home. Information has it that about the [361]
same time there were 5 or 6 lodges belonging to the Saru group standing in
cluster on their side of Huihap Cape.

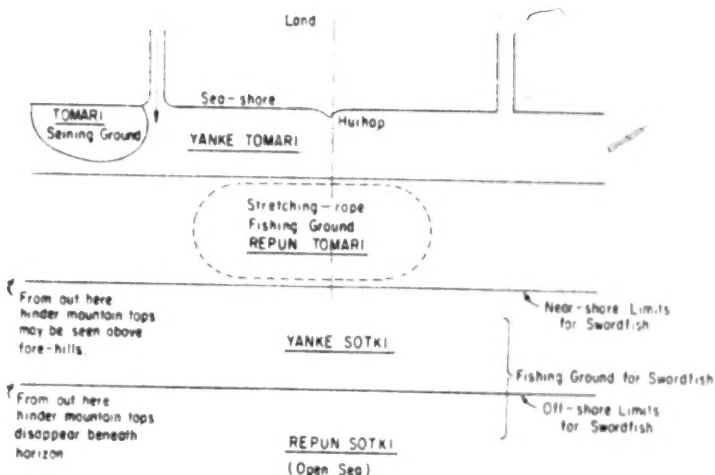
Yanke sotki and repun sotki.—*Yanke sotki* was the area lying next to 823
repun tomari and extending to where the hinder mountain tops were seen to 776
disappear beneath the horizon. *Repun sotki* was the open sea lying beyond.
The former was associated with *yanke sotki kor kamui* and the latter with
repun sotki kor kamui. It is said that *yanke sotki kor kamui* was the spirit
of the younger killer whale and *repun sotki kor kamui* that of the elder
killer whale. Little can be known about the probable connection between
them and *repun kamui*, king killer whale or chief killer whale, referred to
by all informants from interior settlements as a special *kamui* worshipped by
pishun utar, coastal people. It is also said that *repun kamui* was a brother
to *metot ushi kamui*, chief of bears.

The above-mentioned two *sotki* provided the Ainu with fishing grounds 226
for swordfish, *shirikap*. The subdivision of the area seems related with the [136]
habit of swordfish and its effect on the method of their fishing. The Ainu
fished for them during summer when the fish swam round in groups of
several near the sea surface. The fishermen chased them in *itaoma chip*, [501]
dugouts with broadened sides, and pierced them with harpoons, *kite*. Har-
pooning from small-sized dugouts on the open sea of this large fish held as
ferocious as the spearfish, was regarded by the Ainu as an operation of
much special ability, both technical and ritual, as brown bear hunting. At
the Mukawa shortly after the land allotments only 3 families from the Chin
local group core followed swordfish harpooning. It was known that in some 226
years the fish came nearer shore and in others they kept farther off shore. 825
The boundary of *yanke sotki* represented the nearest approach line of the
fish known by experience, and the off-shore boundary their farthest line of
departure from shore. When the harpooning season came on, the *shirikap*
fishermen could foretell the probable course of the fish, whether they would
come the way of *yanke sotki* or that of *repun sotki*, by such signs as the
high or low flights of fireflies. The coming of swordfish to *repun sotki* meant [782] •
for the Ainu going out into the markless open sea; it was then that the Ainu
became most particular on the observation of their ritual for *sotki kor kamui*.

The Ainu

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226 The operation was carried out with their settlements as base without
 796 using any special lodges. The fish caught was disposed in practically the same way as with the bear. Its head was set on an altar erected out of doors "so that it might return to the open sea with the *inau* and regain its original shape." The flesh was shared as *aeimek* among all the families in the local group and also relatives living outside.

823/54 YOSHIDA was informed by an old Ainu that the Tokapchi, a male river, and the Ishikari, a female river, are a married couple whose children are the Otopuke and Satnai rivers (YOSHIDA, 1956b, p. 151). Another old Ainu informed him that the Otopuke is a son of the Tokapchi and the Satnai a daughter of it (ibid., p. 326).

776/55 The dominance-subordinance relation between the *kamui* attributed to a
 823 river, *pet*, as distinguished by the Ainu and around which a river group has evolved, and the *kamui* attributed to each of the tributary streams of the river, has been given no attention in any published materials. For the Ainu belief of water spirits living in a large group with its chief or headman presiding over them, reference may be made to the following descriptions by KINTAICHI: "There are so many of these (water spirits) *kamui* that, when soliciting their help, the Ainu call a chief as (in this ritual prayer),

0 *kamui*, who keep your eyes on the stream flowing down this village of Saru,

0 *kamui*, who command a host of retainers of *wakka ushi kamui*, the

kamui of water,

To you we implore....." (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 270).

NATORI describes a mythical relationship between *Wakka ushi kamui*, the *kamui* of a given main stream or river, for instance the Saru, and *Nai koru kamui*, the *kamui* of a given glen or spring flowing into it (NATORI, 1941, p. 38). KINTAICHI cites *Pet koru kamui*, river owning *kamui* (KINTAICHI, 1944, p. 217).

(56) *Shi*-stream.—In CHIRI's explanation of the use and meaning of the affix 'shi' it is remarked that a number of streams into which the headwaters of a river branch are regarded as parent and children and that the one thought to be the main stream receives the affix to indicate its parentage: thus *Shi-Tokoro* means the 'parent' Tokoro, i.e. the head of the main Tokoro (CHIRI, 1951, p. 34).

Since geographically the headwaters of every river branch into a number of streams, whether large or small, it might be supposed that all rivers have their main stream affixed with 'shi', but whether or not that is always the actual case remains to be proved. As a matter of fact, where the head-streams are distinguished one from another, that one certainly carries the affix which is regarded to be the true main stream. The Satnai, however, gives no indication of its main head-stream being specially distinguished as *shi*-stream, because, as Ushino of Nitmap explains, the head of this river never branches. No investigation has been made for the river Azuma.

(57) *Iworu tapka* and the upper reaches of a river as the abode of nature spirits.—In Otopuke the abode of the river-owning *kamui* was also oriented to the *iworu tapka* of the river, i.e. the summit of Mt. Otopke. In Mukawa, the chief tree-spirit, *shirampa kamui*, as well as the chief bear-spirit, *metotush kamui*, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, were believed to reside in the highest mountains in the upper reaches of the river. The land-*iworu*-owning spirits of Tokapchi or Otopuke, *Tokapchi or Otopuke iworu koru kamui*, the river-owning spirit, *petorun kamui*, of Tokapchi, and the river-spirit, *wakka ush kamui*, of Azuma, were each held to live in the upper reaches of the respective river. The number and kinds of the land-*iworu*-owning *kamui* could not be identified strictly; in regard to Tokapchi, the spirits belonging to the category are *kotan koru kamui*, the *kotan*-owning *kamui*, i.e. the owl spirit, *niyash koru komui*, the spirit of a certain bird, and some others which could not be named; concerning Otopuke, it is only informed that there were six or seven *kamui* of the category, the names of which my informant could not mention. The author's attempts at reaching a clear definition of this category have been fruitless. It is identified by Hikoichiro Oyamada, of

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(62) Social aspects of The Ainu

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the dog salmon ritual and of the rituals for other fishes.

226 Little mention is found in published materials of the dog salmon ritual of
796 the Ainu and much less has been made known about its social aspect. Something of the social context has been reported as follows: "The Shiraoi Ainu a coastal group in southwestern Hokkaido, fishing mainly in the Nishitap river, observed their *kamuinomi*-ritual at the river's mouth every autumn before it was time for the first dog salmon to ascend the river. The event

[562] was known as *pet kamuinomi*, the river-spirit ritual, and the *inao*-offerings and the altar were prepared by male members from each family in the settlement."

[784] INUKAI, 1954, p. 81.) "When dog salmon fishing started, the first fish, *ashichep*, was cooked... to be offered to the fire-spirit... and the house-spirit... Offering was also made at the mouth of the river to the river-spirit as the first catch of the season". (Ibid., p. 83.) Another report shows that almost the same pre-fishing and first salmon rituals were practised in Horobetu in Hitaka in the last part of the Meiji era (1868-1912) (CHIRI, 1959, pp.

[562] 259-60). According to CHIRI's description, the pre-fishing ritual; *pet kamuinomi*, i.e. the river-spirit ritual, was performed by males, one from each household, who solicited the river-spirit as the spirit of water at the spawning places for plentiful runs and spawning of the dog salmon. In any published material, description on the post-fishing ritual is lacking.

184 The collective activities at the dog salmon rituals as described in the
226 text were easy of detection in the Takapchi, Otopuke and Saru Valleys, whilst
796 in the Azuma valley little could be known but that some ritual came off as
[115] joint activities of the local group. Owing to the death of one of my chief informants, Ushintasan from Tonika in the Azuma valley, the present writer failed to clarify the point. Nor was anything clear in the Shikot valley beyond that my informant from Rankoushi, H. Oyamada, had seen elders of the former *kotan* going to the river bank to set up *inau* there before dog salmon fishing started and that each family gave a ritual to offer their first fish to the fire-spirit of their household.

The natives of the Tokapchi, Otopuke and Tushipet areas at least had, besides the dog salmon rites, others for the first fish of the spring, *chirai* or *Fucho perryi*, and the cherry salmon that followed; however, there is no published material available on the latter rites.

226 Economically of less importance than the cherry salmon, the *chirai*, or
796 *chirai kamuichep*, it seems, was ritually more important than the cherry salmon. In Tokapchi at least, the rituals for the fish, like those for the dog salmon, came on three occasions, on the eve of the ascent, on the first catch, and on the close of the runs. Extreme meagreness of data on the subject makes it doubtful whether or not they likewise came off as a joint enterprise of the local group. Perhaps all that has been made known is that the head-

[821] man knew the approach of the runs by the waxing and waning of the moon;

796 of Ainu bear hunters, and even with those huntsmen the event has ceased to
 172 function socially as it did in the past. What has hitherto been described by
 various writers has been confined to its formal aspect, chief works dealing
 with which may be found in the bibliographies by HALLOWELL (1926) and
 INUKAI and NATORI (1939); more recently, minutely detailed reports have
 been published by INUKAI and NATORI (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939 and 1940;
 796 NATORI, 1941). For various reasons its social aspect has been virtually
 ignored in nearly all studies of the Ainu, and our knowledge of that aspect
 has remained little further than what was summarized by HALLOWELL, as
 [57] follows: "In every case it is evident that the affair is communal in nature.
 Not only friends and relatives in the village but sometimes individuals from
 other settlements as well are invited by the owner of the bear, who is also
 the host" (HALLOWELL, 1926, p. 122). Only in a later report by INUKAI and
 NATORI (1940) on the formal aspect of the bear rite as it is observed today
 may one have fragmentary information regarding the subject—the relation
 between the rite and the participants. Here follows an excerpt from the
 above report referring to a bear festival which took place in the middle of
 December in 1939 at Suwan settlement in Kushiro, one of the older native
kotan (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, pp. 96-135).

In the spring of 1939 a bear cub was caught by Kawasaki, an old Ainu
 from Kutcharo settlement who lodged at the settlement of Suwan. The cub
 was taken over by Old Ōno, a descendant of Hashibami, elder of the former
 Suwan *kotan*, and it was kept in a cage built by the sacred window of his
 ancestral dwelling. The ritual killing of the bear was performed at an old
 altar left by the late Hashibami, about 40 metres from the cage.

[628] The ceremony was attended by members of the three other settlements
 on the river, Kutcharo (the uppermost settlement), Tohro and Harutori (the
 lowermost settlement). The attendants from Harutori were all females. On
 this occasion at least, for reasons not known, no invitation was sent to the
 settlement but the women came to join the ceremony. It is informed that
 the bear festivals at Suwan had been attended by members of about the same
 four *kotan*. The main participants were: old Ōno, who had brought up the
 cub; old Kawasaki, who caught it, old Isosato, who was descended from a
 headman of the former Kutcharo; Tosa, an old member of Tohro; Yama-
 naka and Teshi, old members of Kutcharo. The main part of the bear cere-
 mony consisted of a series of rituals, not only to the bear itself but also to
 other associated *kamui* groups. The essential element of the rituals is the
 [782] offering of prayers and *inau*-sticks to the respective *kamui*. The performance
 [562] of the rituals was allotted to the male participants who came from the afore-
 mentioned settlements, the important parts being taken by the elders whose
 names were previously mentioned. Now old Ōno was the adopted into his

family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which circumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39). [796] [78]

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131). [621] [622]

68) INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. [231] [182] The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

69) In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he¹ was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tsuki* and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of 1. [i.e., a person who was apprehended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst] 782 • 685 [439] 782

782 exploiting resources in the territory of a different river group. According to Kazari from Otopuke the *ikoro* received as *ashimpe* in relation to those activities was kept and stewarded by the headman and was called *kamui korube*, *kamui*'s property, as distinguished from Ainu's properties. TAKAKURA points out that *ashimpe* is not a mere fine but an offering to *kamui* or an act of giving which expresses one's apology (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 39).

171 70 The building up in this wise of a system of social relations between
82 man and natural phenomena presents a marked contrast to that on the principle of origin or kinship as seen, for instance, in Arunta totemism. The Ainu system is related closely with their way of ordering nature in terms of spatial orientation. In this connection the present writer is deeply interested in the Northwest Coast Indians of North America. A comparison reveals a striking similarity between their beliefs concerning salmon (DRUCKER, 1950, p. 283) and those of the Ainu. Elements reported as native to the Northwest Coast such as 'the belief in the immortality of game' and 'the ritual requirement of honoring captured animals and of returning certain parts' (DRUCKER, 1955, p. 71) are common with the Ainu. The close similarity in form of belief and ritual may conceal a great difference in meaning and function. Yet the present writer cannot but wonder what parts are played in the system of social solidarity between the Northwest Coast Indians and their habitat by such spatial elements as, for instance, laying down the first-caught salmon with heads pointing upstream, throwing pieces of meat in prescribed directions, placing the bear head eastward (DRUCKER, 1950) and the esoteric formula spoken before various rocks and spots that mark the abodes of their spirits (GUNTHER, 1928, p. 143). It is also interesting to see that the Japanese and the Tungus are another peoples who emphasize the ordering of nature spirits on local basis and the establishment of the ritual relationship between man and nature on the principle of local contiguity (WATANABE, 1964).

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796 fastened on with them and in part to them are also used for deco-
 778 ration during the bear festival, according to Scheube, in order to
 171 express through their evergreen and nonperishable condition the
 wish that the dead bear may live again. In the north of Sakhalin
 and in the Amur region, where there is no bamboo, we saw the
 Gilyak use the likewise evergreen cedar and fir branches for the
 same purpose of decoration and also toss these into the fire dedi-
 cated to the bear, in order to evoke its good will by the smoke
 and fragrance produced by burning them and to express to it or its
 manes, if not the wish for a reawakening of life, at any rate their
 respect and veneration.

796 According to Mamia Rinsô (5), among the Ainu of Sakhalin
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5. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 189.

[43] another festival precedes the bear festival proper, and at it, if
 the bear is two or three years old, its eyeteeth are blunted so that
 it cannot wound anybody with its bite. For this, /737/ after it
 has been lifted from its cage by means of a noose, its feet are tied
 to poles so that it cannot jump, and the points of the eyeteeth
 removed with a saw-like instrument made by them themselves.

[171] The more courageous, bolder, and, in dealing with the bear,
 more experienced and probably also more skilled Gilyak scorn
 doing this and, on the contrary, regard being wounded by a bear,
 which not infrequently happens among them, as the greatest of
 honors.

796 At the bear festival proper, ending with the killing and eat-
 782 ing of the bear, before putting a hand on it the Ainu offer a liba-
 tion, first the men and then the bear's wet-nurse and several older
 women, in the house to the god of fire in front of the hearth deco-
 rated with an inau and then to the house god in the corner dedi-
 cated to him. This is done by lifting a sake-filled cup to the
 forehead with the left hand and with the right dipping a small flat
 stick pointed at one end, which was lying across the cup, into
 the liquid and letting a few drops fall to the ground or, before the
 god of fire, into it itself, and then moving the stick back and forth

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[535] horizontally a few times and murmuring a few words which Scheube did not understand. This is repeated in front of the bear's cage, whereupon the women and girls execute a dance in front of it and in doing so turn toward the bear with caressing glances and movements. /Page 738 is blank, and the following unnumbered page is the title page for the appendix, "Excerpts from the Travel Books, Notebooks, and Journals Left by the Author." /

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1. Religious Conceptions of the Amur Peoples. --
Idols, Amulets -- Shamans.

Religious Conceptions

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1. Gilyak. It is very difficult to obtain information concerning the religion of the Gilyak. I learned the following from Jutschin and Labgun (*). They call "God" yžigy (**) and designate

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* From the villages of Patchä and Wassj at the mouth of the Amur.

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[104]

** Wherever the author used kl and fl from the Russian alphabet, they have been replaced by y and ja /according to the system used here, these letters would be transliterated as y and ya, respectively/.

G
[798]
[532]

him as the good one, kíngulätsch, an attribute that means the same as good (sontz). They did not understand my question as to whether "God" lived in heaven, or where else? -- and said only that they did not have any god (idol) in their yurts. I all the more doubted the assertion repeatedly given to me by the Gilyak that they did not have any idols, since I myself have human and animal figures carved in wood from the village of Kuik (***). But they

G
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*** On the left bank of the Amur, below Nikolayevsk, also Kuëgda, Kuëgra, Kuëgri-wo; see pp. 448, 535.